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DATE 01-20-2012

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: 5/10/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)  
SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

*Handwritten signatures and initials:*  
mo...  
S...  
RD  
C...

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies, and for the New York Office one copy, of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) entitled "SPEECH BY LE DUAN, FIRST SECRETARY OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE, WORKING PEOPLE'S PARTY OF VIETNAM, TO XXIII CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, MARCH 30, 1966."

The information in the enclosed LHM was orally furnished on 4/29/66 by CG 5824-S\* to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared in Washington, D. C.

The enclosed LHM is being furnished to the Bureau without security classification for the following reasons. CG 5824-S\* advised that following the session of the Congress at which LE DUAN spoke, the Communist Party, USA delegation to the Congress asked for a full translation of his speech. This was subsequently furnished to them by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, who then advised them that only a limited number of copies of

*Handwritten initials:* Al

- ③ - Bureau (Encls. 3) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

*Handwritten:* 2nd copy ENCLOSURE REC-38 100-428091-5549

WAB/mes  
(5)

6 MAY 19 1966

*Handwritten:* cc [signature] with [unclear]

Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

65 APR 26 1966

*Handwritten:* FBI REC-3

*Vertical handwritten notes on left margin:*  
Let to Stalk & CIA  
5/23/66  
NJM: padu

CG 134-46 Sub B

this full translation into English had been made, although a summary or abridged version might be released. However, although we have not seen in the press a full translation of this speech, it is noted that what appears to be the full text appears on Page 7 of the 3/31/66 issue of "Pravda," the daily morning organ of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, a Moscow datelined article concerning the Congress which appeared on Page 12, Column 2, of the 4/1/66 issue of the "New York Times" notes that LE DUAN's speech was reprinted in full in the 3/31/66 issue of "Pravda." Therefore, it appears that the contents of LE DUAN's speech have been published, though perhaps not in this exact translation. In view of the format used and the exact wording as furnished in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union translation, we believe this LHM should bear a classification of no less than "~~Confidential~~." However, the ultimate disposition of the matter of classification is being left for the Bureau's decision.

As the Bureau will note in the enclosed LHM and attached speech, the LHM refers to him as LE DUAN, while the translation of the speech refers to him as LE ZUAN. This is because that individual's name is correctly written in English as LE DUAN, but the Vietnamese pronunciation is LE ZUAN. The Russian press has carried his name phonetically and the translator in this case transliterated it according to its phonetic rendering.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.  
May 10, 1966

SPEECH BY LE DUAN, FIRST SECRETARY OF  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, WORKING PEOPLE'S  
PARTY OF VIETNAM, TO XXIII CONGRESS OF  
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET  
UNION, MARCH 30, 1966.

During April, 1966, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

On March 30, 1966, Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Working People's Party of Vietnam, speaking as a fraternal delegate, addressed the delegates to the XXIII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in Moscow, USSR. The full text of Le Duan's speech is attached hereto.

At the conclusion of Le Duan's speech, N. M. Savinov, an electric welder from the XXII CPSU Congress Metalworks, Leningrad, USSR, and a delegate to the XXIII Congress of the CPSU, mounted the speaker's platform, accompanied by a group of his fellow delegates from Leningrad. Savinov presented to Le Duan a scarlet banner embroidered in gold with a profile of V. I. Lenin and the inscription: "To the Delegation of the Working People's Party of Vietnam From the Working People of the Hero City of Leningrad." The text of Le Duan's reply to this gesture is appended at the end of the text of his attached speech.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Attachment

100-428091-5549

ENCLOSURE

Speech by Comrade Le Zuan,  
First Secretary of the Central Committee of  
the Working People's Party of Vietnam

Dear comrades, it gives us great pleasure to represent the Working People's Party of Vietnam at the 23rd Congress of the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Permit me to convey cordial congratulations to the Congress and through the Congress delegates send the warmest fraternal greetings from the Communists, working class and people of Vietnam to the twenty-million-strong army of Communists, and all workers, collective-farm peasants and intellectuals of the Soviet Union. (Applause.)

We are grateful for Comrade Brezhnev's heartfelt words about the struggle the Vietnam people are waging against the US imperialists to save their country. The mighty support of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU is a tremendous factor giving inspiration to our people and the men of our country's Armed Forces. (Applause.)

We listened to Comrade Brezhnev's report with close attention. We are sure that the 23rd Congress will mark a further step towards the building of the material and technical basis of communism, steadily raising the living standard and cultural level of the Soviet people and enhancing the economic and defensive might of the Soviet Union. It will be a contribution towards peace in the interests of the socialist camp and the whole of mankind, and will assist the national liberation revolutions and

working and oppressed peoples throughout the world.

(Applause.)

Comrades, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, founded by the great Lenin 63 years ago, is the first Party to have victoriously accomplished the proletarian revolution and the first Party to have assumed leadership in the building of socialism and communism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has traversed a long historical road of struggle and has achieved victories of enormous international significance.

The Great October Revolution brought in a new era in the history of human development. It is a model for the world revolution. For the international working class and the oppressed peoples the existence of the world's first proletarian state and its steady consolidation and growth has been a source of inexhaustible inspiration and great and unceasing support and strength in the revolutionary struggle. The historic victories of the Soviet state in the civil war and in the struggle against the intervention of 14 imperialist states showed that the workers and peasants, led by the Party of Lenin, are invincible.

In alliance with the peasants within the country and supported by the world proletariat, the Soviet working class raised on high the banner of national liberation and socialism. That was why the Soviet state, which had just been established, was able to defeat the forces of moribund imperialism.

In the Second World War the heroic Soviet people and their Army defeated international fascism, saved mankind from the fascist threat, considerably undermined the other imperialist forces and thereby created favourable objective conditions for the growth of the national liberation movement and the emergence of the world socialist system. (Applause.)

Facts show that the growing might of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries has turned our socialist camp into a factor determining the basic content and the fundamental trend and features of human progress in the present epoch. (Applause.)

Lately, thanks to the successful fulfilment of the seven-year plan, the Soviet Union has become stronger economically and militarily and the living standard and cultural level of the Soviet people has been raised. Soviet science has been remarkably successful in studying and exploring outer space. The news that the Soviet Union had launched and soft-landed an automatic station on the Moon and had landed a pennant with the Soviet coat-of-arms on Venus was received with boundless joy by our Vietnamese people.

These outstanding achievements still further strengthen our faith in advanced Soviet science, in the advantages of the socialist system and in the might of our socialist camp. (Applause.)

Today, with great enthusiasm the Soviet people are setting out to fulfil the five-year plan, the beginning for

which is being laid by the 23rd Congress. This plan will be completed on the 100th birthday of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the great teacher and leader of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the whole world. (Applause.)

The 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution will be marked in 1967. These stirring events will unquestionably give tremendous impetus and inspiration to the Soviet people in the fulfilment of the five-year plan and to progressive peoples throughout the world in their efforts to carry out their revolutionary tasks. We wish the heroic Soviet people great victories in the building of the material and technical basis of communism. (Applause.)

Under the leadership of the glorious Party of Lenin, the Soviet people are unceasingly displaying revolutionary heroism and proletarian internationalism in the building of the new society and contributing immensely to the liberation of the working class and all working and oppressed peoples. The oppressed and exploited peoples of the whole world regard the Soviet people as their sincere comrade and faithful partner, as a reliable bastion in the struggle against the forces of international reaction for the liberation of mankind from all forms of oppression and exploitation.

In order to fulfil the tasks set us by history, the working class and people of Vietnam are striving for close unity with the peoples of the Soviet Union, with the workers and toiling and oppressed peoples of the whole world, for the unshakable unity of all these forces.

(Applause.)

Comrades, inspired by the October Revolution the Working People's Party of Vietnam and our Vietnamese people have accomplished a revolution under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. The defeat of the international fascist coalition by the Soviet Union cleared the ground for the victory of our August Revolution in 1945. The victory of the Chinese Revolution created favourable conditions for our victory in the war of resistance against the French colonialists. Ever since then our Vietnamese people have been perseveringly working, without yielding an inch to all enemies, to build socialism in North Vietnam and achieve the objectives of the people's national-democratic revolution on a nation-wide scale. (Applause.)

We defeated the French colonialists, and the Geneva Agreements on Indo-China were signed in 1954. In face of the then obtaining balance of forces within the country and in the world the signing of the Geneva Agreements was a correct act.

But by virtue of their reactionary nature, the US imperialists violated their obligations, brazenly torpedoed the Geneva Agreements, embarked upon intervention in the south of our country and went over to an overtly aggressive war in the hope of turning the south of our country into a new kind of colony and a war base so as to utilise it as a springboard for an attack on the socialist camp. They are pursuing a neocolonialist policy, threatening the independent countries of Southeast Asia. Through military.



and administrative measures, they and their hirelings have instituted a brutal reign of terror and repressions with the purpose of annihilating the revolutionary forces. As a consequence, in the period from 1954 to 1959, after the restoration of peace, they killed 170,000 people in South Vietnam, crippled 400,000 people by torture and incarcerated 800,000 people in 8,000 concentration camps which they called strategic villages. But the people of South Vietnam had no intention whatever of reconciling themselves to this and rose to fight the US imperialists and their myrmidons, dealing them telling political blows.

Utilising the hangman's rope everywhere, the minions of the US imperialists in South Vietnam have started an unbridled reign of terror and the physical extermination of people in an effort to frighten and subdue the people in the southern part of our country. This forced the people in that part of Vietnam to rise and fight to save their country and home under the banner of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. In the initial period our South Vietnamese compatriots, armed with primitive weapons and full of violent hatred, utilised political and military forms of struggle against the enemy.

For their part, the US imperialists brought diverse modern weapons to South Vietnam, set up their command there and openly began a "special war". But at present the Resistance in the south of our country has become a mighty force. In the course of five years (1960-65) the people and

the Liberation Army incapacitated 630,000 officers and men of the puppet army and 20,000 Americans, captured 70,000 various types of firearms, destroyed 2,500 aircraft and liberated 6,000 "strategic villages". Four-fifths of the territory of South Vietnam has been liberated, and nearly 10 million of our compatriots (out of 14 million) are living a free life and have received 2 million hectares of land.

The US imperialists, seeking to suppress the struggle of our South Vietnamese compatriots, have committed huge army and naval forces and modern means of warfare in their aggressive war in South Vietnam. But they have got into a tunnel from which there is no exit. Their "special war" strategy has failed. They were compelled to fight a local war and planned to bring 250,000 US troops into that war. They started transporting troops to South Vietnam on a large scale at a time when the South Vietnamese people achieved absolute political superiority and were victorious in the "special war". The US troops, the puppet army and US satellite troops numbering 700,000 strong are up to their necks in a bog and are experiencing the force of the crushing blows delivered by the army and people of South Vietnam. For that reason, even if the Americans bring in tens of thousands of fresh troops, our South Vietnamese compatriots, supported by North Vietnam and the socialist camp, will continue their determined struggle and will unfailingly be victorious. (Applause.)

In only the period from November 1965 to February 1966,

the army and people of South Vietnam have incapacitated 35,000 enemy troops, including 16,000 Americans and 3,500 Pak Chon Hi hirelings, and shot down or destroyed more than 500 US aircraft.

The Americans are also suffering heavy losses in the destructive air war that they are conducting against our North Vietnam. The army and people of North Vietnam have shot down more than 900 modern US aircraft, thereby disrupting the US design of utilising their "air superiority", subjugating North Vietnam and pulling themselves out of the mire in which they are stuck in South Vietnam.

Despite the severe defeats they have sustained, the US imperialists are stubbornly continuing the war. They are feverishly intensifying and extending military operations, bringing more and more of their own troops and troops of their satellites and, at the same time, keeping up their false diplomatic game of "peace talks", "talks without preliminary conditions" and so forth. But while they talk about peace they are intensifying military operations, resorting to the most brutal and inhuman methods: they are using chemicals, poison gases and strategic aircraft, dropping hundreds of thousands of bombs on South Vietnamese villages, carrying on a war of extermination in South Vietnam, pursuing scorched-earth tactics and savagely bombing schools, hospitals, pagodas, temples and densely populated areas in North Vietnam.

From this rostrum we ardently call upon the socialist countries, the fraternal parties, the working class of all countries, the peoples fighting for independence, all forces of peace and progress in the world to give us their utmost support, stay the bloody hand of the US imperialists and defeat them in their aggressive war. We are certain that our South Vietnamese compatriots will fight the enemy, the US imperialists, to the victorious end no matter what it costs them, that they will not tolerate a return to the former shameful slavery. The whole of our Vietnamese people are not afraid to make any sacrifice to uphold the independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity of their country and fulfil their duty to the people fighting to defend the advance post of the socialist camp in Southeast Asia. (Applause.) Determined to fight and win, and receiving massive assistance from the socialist camp, the international proletariat, the national liberation movement and progressive mankind, we are firmly confident that we shall defeat the US aggressors. (Applause.)

Our Vietnamese people have traversed a long and difficult road of struggle, and, therefore, they passionately desire peace. But peace is inseparable from independence and freedom. Peace would be restored at once if the US imperialists stopped their aggressive war against our country, withdrew all expeditionary troops and recognised the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of our country. In short, they must

recognise the stand outlined in the four points of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the 5-point statement of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam; they must renounce their aggressive policy towards our country.

If the US imperialists continue the aggressive war our people will fight to the victorious end. (Applause.) The Vietnamese people are fighting for their national independence and for world peace. If the US imperialists are not defeated in Vietnam, peace cannot be preserved in Southeast Asia and in the rest of the world. Our struggle to save our country from the US imperialists therefore has the warm understanding and support of the fraternal socialist countries, the international proletariat, the world communist movement, the national liberation movement and of all the peoples who cherish peace, freedom and justice, including the American people. Our struggle will be long, difficult and fierce. But we are sure that with the tremendous support of the Soviet Union, China and all other fraternal countries of the socialist camp and of the peoples of the whole world, the Vietnamese people will be victorious. (Applause.) We take this opportunity to express our profound gratitude to the Communist Party, the Government and the great Soviet people for their immense and many-sided assistance to the struggle of our Vietnamese people. (Applause.) Permit me also to express deep gratitude to the fraternal socialist countries, the fraternal parties, the working class and

the peoples of all countries of the world for their sympathy to and support of the legitimate struggle of our people. (Applause.)

Comrades, in recent years there have been far-reaching changes in the international situation in favour of the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace. The imperialists have suffered defeat in their efforts to halt the world revolutionary movement. The world socialist system is increasingly becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society. The international communist and working-class movement is growing and retaining its leading role in the struggle of the working class and peoples of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. In Asia, Africa and Latin America the scale of the struggle of the peoples against old and new colonialism has broadened out, and colonialism and its accomplices have been dealt a heavy blow in the course of that struggle.

Rising like a typhoon, the movement for national independence is the cardinal feature of the present situation. But national independence can be strengthened and developed only if political power is really in the hands of the people, if there is no dependence whatever on the imperialists and if non-capitalist development is promoted.

Today the world revolutionary movement is on the offensive, compelling the imperialists and the forces of world reaction to go over to the defensive. Besides,

another economic crisis is hanging over the capitalist world, and internal contradictions of an economic and political nature are exacerbating not only in each imperialist country but also in the imperialist camp as a whole.

The imperialist forces headed by the USA by no means wish to retreat in face of these mounting difficulties. They are unleashing wars in one part of the world, engineering coups in another and doing everything they can to harm the socialist countries, to put spokes in the wheel of the national liberation movement, crush the international working-class movement and pursue a neocolonialist policy with the purpose of recovering the positions they have lost and establishing their domination over the world. But we have all grounds for stating that in the world today the forces of peace and revolution are stronger than the forces of imperialism and war. They are able to wreck the sinister designs of the imperialists and, if the latter recklessly start another world war, to defeat them.

(Applause.)

That is why, under the conditions obtaining today, the defence of world peace is the immediate task of the Communist and Workers' Parties. At the same time the revolution for the liberation of the working class and toiling and oppressed people must be promoted. These two tasks are closely inter-related and must be carried out in parallel, and only then will it become possible to stay the criminal hand of the imperialists in one region or

another and prevent them from starting a world war. For that reason the only correct policy today is that of uniting all the revolutionary forces with the purpose of thwarting the aggressive political line of the imperialists with the USA at their head, of making them retreat step by step and dislodging them from their positions one by one. This is the only way to disrupt their designs and actions aimed at starting war, and to preserve world peace.

Our Vietnamese people are resolutely fighting against US imperialist aggression, for the independence of their homeland, and are, at the same time, contributing towards the defence of the security of the socialist camp, the independence of peoples and world peace.

We hope that the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' Parties are solidly behind us, giving us their utmost support and helping us to beat the invaders; the US imperialists.

As regards us, Vietnamese Communists, we assure you that we shall be faithful to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism (applause), to the revolutionary principles in the Moscow 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement. We assure you that we shall spare no effort in the struggle to unite the socialist camp and the international communist movement on principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to unite all the forces championing peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism. (Applause.)



Dear comrades, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, created, led and reared by the great Lenin, has won great victories in the socialist revolution and made a considerable contribution towards the development and victory of the liberation revolutions of the working class, of the toiling and oppressed peoples of the whole world.

The CPSU and the Soviet people have glorious revolutionary traditions, and lofty proletarian internationalism is inherent in them. We believe that guided by these traditions and by proletarian internationalism, the Communist Party and the Soviet people will successfully complete the building of the material and technical basis of communism and contribute towards the defence of peace and the development of the world revolution.

Permit me to wish the Congress outstanding victories and to read a message of greetings to the Congress from the Central Committee of the Working People's Party of Vietnam over the signature of Comrade Ho Shih Minh.

To the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of  
the Soviet Union

Dear comrades, on behalf of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, the working class and the people of Vietnam we send the 23rd Congress of the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the great Soviet people our most cordial greetings and wish the Congress every success in its work. (Applause.)

Led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in line with their glorious revolutionary traditions the Soviet people have, by their selfless work, achieved signal victories in the building of the material and technical basis of communism in the past few years. The seven-year plan has been fulfilled. As a result, the living standard and the cultural level of the Soviet people are rising steadily and the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union are daily becoming more powerful. This is an important contribution to the defence of the socialist camp and the preservation of world peace. The Soviet Union's grand achievements in space exploration, the successful launching of the Soviet automatic station towards the Moon and the landing of a pennant with the Soviet coat-of-arms on Venus testify to the unparalleled advance of Soviet science and technology.

The Vietnamese people boundlessly rejoice over these outstanding triumphs of the fraternal Soviet people.

Our present Congress will examine and endorse the Directives for the 1966-70 five-year plan, whose objective is to achieve further successes in the development of Soviet economy, raise the living standard and cultural level of the people and steadily strengthen the mighty Armed Forces of the Soviet Union. That will be an active contribution towards consolidating the peace forces throughout the world.

The new Soviet five-year plan of economic development is a fresh source of inspiration for the peoples of the

fraternal socialist countries, the working class and the toiling and oppressed peoples of the whole world in their struggle against the aggressiveness of the imperialists headed by the USA, in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

We are firmly confident that with the talent, energy and creative initiative inherent in them the Communists and people of the Soviet Union will successfully carry out this five-year plan. (Applause.)

Dear comrades, the US imperialists are, on the one hand, obstinately intensifying and escalating their aggressive war in the south of our country and, on the other, utilising their Air Force for barbarously bombing and strafing the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. At the same time, they are making hypocritical statements about "peace talks" in an effort to mislead world public opinion and get out of their disastrous predicament in South Vietnam. The undisguised military operations of the US imperialists are not only a threat to the security of the peoples in Southeast Asia but also a brazen challenge to the entire socialist camp. In this serious situation the fraternal socialist countries, the Communist and Workers' Parties, the forces of peace, democracy and progress throughout the world must unite closely in order to stave off the US imperialists, defeat them in their aggressive war in Vietnam, disrupt all their plans for military adventures in other parts of the world, and preserve peace.

As for ourselves, our Party and people assure you that they will put all their moral vigour and all their strength into the struggle against the US imperialists and their henchmen to uphold our independence, defend the advance post of the socialist camp in Southeast Asia and make their contribution to the preservation of peace in Asia and the whole world.

In the struggle against the US imperialists to save their country, defend North Vietnam, liberate South Vietnam and unite their homeland, the Vietnamese people constantly feel the sympathy, support and all-sided assistance of the Soviet people. The whole-hearted support and valuable assistance of the Soviet Union, China and other fraternal socialist countries, as well as the sympathy and support of the working class and of peace-loving peoples throughout the world are an important factor and a guarantee of the victory of the Vietnamese revolution.

We take this opportunity to express sincere gratitude to the Party, Government and fraternal people of the Soviet Union for the active support and assistance that they have been giving and continue to give to the Vietnamese people.

From the bottom of our hearts we wish the great Soviet people further and still greater success in the building of the material and technical basis of communism and in the preservation of world peace.

May the militant friendship between the Parties and peoples of our two countries grow stronger and flourish with each passing day!

Long live the great Soviet people!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,  
which has been created, reared and moulded by Lenin!

Long live all-conquering Marxism-Leninism!

On Behalf of the Central Committee of  
the Working People's Party of  
Vietnam

Chairman HO SHIH MINH

x            x            x

For us Vietnamese Communists there are two homelands:  
Vietnam and the Soviet Union, the first country where  
socialism has triumphed.

In accepting this pennant, I should like to say that  
the Vietnamese people profoundly believe that the Soviet  
people will not leave them in trouble because all of us  
are the sons of Marx, the sons of Lenin.

The Soviet people are helping us today in the same way  
that they have been helping us ever since the founding  
of our Party and ever since the years of the war of  
Resistance. It can be said that there are drops of blood  
of the men of the Red Army in each of our victories.

We therefore assure you that we shall keep this  
pennant eternally and hand it down from generation to  
generation: (Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise.)

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/11/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

*Solo*

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

*Shelley (lost)*  
*Brattigan*

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies each and for the New York Office one copy each of the following captioned letterhead memoranda:

- 1) "New Condition for Membership in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union"
- 2) "Establishment of Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Merchant Marine"

*Callahan*  
*V...*

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memoranda was orally furnished by CG 5824-S\* during the period 4/25-29/66 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed letterhead memoranda have been classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement thus adversely affecting the national security.

To further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memoranda have been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C.

- ③-Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 2) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

RWH:MDW  
(5)

REC-38 / 100-428091-5550

6 MAY 19 1966

*al*

*Let to State*  
*1-CIA*

*1-DIA*  
*NJM:PAH 5/19/66*

*cc*  
*and*  
*JB*

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

65 APR 31 1966

*ENC. 3*



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

May 11, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

NEW CONDITION FOR MEMBERSHIP IN  
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET  
UNION

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in April, 1966, advised as follows:

In discussions with representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in April, 1966, it was learned that at the present time the reported membership of the Leninist Young Communist League (LYCL) of the Soviet Union is being placed at twenty-three million. In this connection, it was stated that at the present time 93% of those who hold either full or candidate membership in the CPSU had been previous members of the LYCL. Hereafter, the policy is being established in the CPSU that, except in rare instances, in order to gain full or candidate membership in the CPSU, it will be necessary that the individual involved be a previous member of the LYCL.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~Group 1~~

~~excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

100-428091-5550  
ENCLOSURE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

May 11, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

ESTABLISHMENT OF CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST  
REPUBLIC MERCHANT MARINE

In April, 1966, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

At the present time the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, a landlocked country, is engaged in the creation of a merchant marine fleet which will operate under the Czech flag. New ships are being built and others will be acquired for this fleet. The Czech Government plans to operate this merchant marine fleet from leased bases located in the German Democratic Republic and in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. By operating from these two bases, the Baltic and Adriatic Seas, the Czech Government feels it will have ready access to the world trade areas.

The main reason presented by the representatives of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) for the establishment of this merchant marine fleet is that it would be cheaper for their country to operate their own fleet of ships and thus cut down the outflow of hard currency for the chartering of foreign vessels to carry Czech goods. Thus, the Czech Government will be faced with fewer economic problems in this regard. In addition, it was also noted that the Czech merchant marine fleet can and will also be utilized to transport military equipment, guns, tanks, etc., to other countries. In this instance, by using their own flagships, it will be possible to deliver such material more efficiently, with greater security, and less possibility of embarrassment to the Government.

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~~TOP SECRET~~

~~Group 1~~

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downgrading and  
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# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/12/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
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Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)  
SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

*Shank*  
*Cont*  
*Cont*

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies, and for the New York Office one copy, of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) entitled "POSSIBLE INTERNATIONAL GATHERING OF COMMUNISTS UNDER AUSPICES OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA."

The information in the enclosed LHM was orally furnished on 4/28/66 by CG 5824-S\* to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed LHM has been classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source, who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared in Washington, D. C.

In connection with the information in the enclosed LHM, the following is set forth for the information of the Bureau:

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

WAB/mes  
(5)

6 MAY 19 1966

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*1-c 1 A*  
*NSM. pah 5/10/66*

**ENCLOSURE**

REC-38

100-428011-555

*FGB with 1/11/66*

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

35 APR 26 1966

**TOP SECRET**

CG 134-46 Sub B

By airtel dated 4/15/66, Chicago set out the contents of a letter received from CG 5824-S\*, together with our interpretation thereof, since the letter was couched in disguised language. Included was our interpretation of the postscript of the letter to the effect that the Communist Party of China was getting ready for a big drive for leadership in the world communist movement. On the above date CG 5824-S\* advised that this interpretation was correct as far as it went, but he had also intended to convey an additional meaning. That additional meaning is included in the enclosed LHM.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.  
May 12, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

POSSIBLE INTERNATIONAL GATHERING  
OF COMMUNISTS UNDER AUSPICES  
OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

During April, 1966, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

In early April, 1966, leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) communicated to the leadership of other CPs with whom they have close contact, the fact that it had come to their attention that the CP of China (CPC) is planning in the near future to stage an international gathering of communists, probably in Peking, but possibly in some other world capital. As a matter of fact, at that time the Russians had received information that some people were already on their way to Peking.

The CPSU leaders stated that the Chinese were trying to gather all their friends from as many countries as possible and would call each of these groups a "Communist Party" no matter how small the group was, even if it only numbered a dozen people. Then the CPC would announce this gathering as including some large number of CPs with great fanfare and publicity, in an effort to counteract the XXIII Congress of the CPSU. The CPSU at first had thought that the gathering on April 9 - 10, 1966, in Auckland, New Zealand, was the start of the Chinese plan, but this turned out to be a total failure since it was but a small ineffectual gathering of CPs from China, Albania, Belgium, Australia and New Zealand.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

100-428091-5551

ENCLOSURE

POSSIBLE INTERNATIONAL GATHERING  
OF COMMUNISTS UNDER AUSPICES  
OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

~~TOP SECRET~~

The CPSU was disseminating this information to other Parties so they would not be unprepared should the Chinese make such an announcement.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(IS) 100-428091

BY LIAISON

Date: May 16, 1966

- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Shaw

To: Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: LENINIST YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE  
15TH CONGRESS - MAY 17, 1966

*5/17/66  
delivered  
CWH*

The following information furnished by a source which has supplied reliable information in the past is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest.

The 15th Congress of the Leninist Young Communist League (LYCL) of the Soviet Union is to convene in Moscow, Russia, on May 17, 1966. The Congress will hear and discuss the report of the LYCL Central Committee and define the tasks of this organization for the coming years.

Four thousand delegates are expected to be in attendance and there will also be foreign guests present at this Congress. The LYCL Central Committee will provide all the expenses in connection with the visit of foreign delegations to the Soviet Union. After the Congress has completed its work, the foreign delegations will be afforded the opportunity of making a tour of the Soviet Union in order that they might become better acquainted with life of the Soviet youth and the activities of the LYCL.

The Communist Party, USA, has sent a delegation consisting of Robert Heisler and Rasheed Storey to the LYCL 15th Congress. Both Heisler and Storey hold positions of leadership within the New York District of the Communist Party, USA.

- 1 - Director BY LIAISON  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Attention: Deputy Director, Plans
- 1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

REC-41 100-428091-5552

MAY 18 1966

MAILED 15  
MAY 17 1966  
COMM-FBI

*Handwritten initials and signatures*

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Wick \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

WGS:dmk  
(8)

55 MAY 26 1966

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

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GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

*Handwritten initials*

~~SECRET~~

Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State

NOTE:

Both Robert Heisler and Rasheed Storey are on the Security Index. Classified "~~Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in grave damage to the Nation. Source obtained this information while on the 20th Solo Mission in the Soviet Union, 3/18/66 to 4/25/66. Data extracted from Chicago airtel 5/10/66 captioned "Solo, IS - C."

~~SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

BA  
K

05010

BY LIAISON

Date: May 17, 1966  
 To: Director  
 Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
 Department of State  
 From: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
 Subject: PARTY OF PEOPLE'S ALLIANCE OF HAITI

1 - Mr. Wannall  
 1 - Liaison  
 1 - Mr. Mastrovich

*5/18/66  
 deleted  
 6/1/66*

A source which has furnished reliable information in the past has made available the following information concerning the securing of material by the Party of People's Alliance of Haiti from the United States and Canada.

During October, 1965, Henry Winston, Vice Chairman, Communist Party, USA, attended the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Chile in Santiago, Chile. While at this Congress, Winston made contact with an individual from Haiti who was believed to be active in the Party of People's Alliance of Haiti. During their meeting Winston reportedly committed the Communist Party, USA, to provide to this Haitian and his Party some offset printing equipment.

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cc only  
MAY 18 1966  
COMM-FBI

This same Haitian subsequently attended the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held March 29 through April 8, 1966, in Moscow, Russia. During this Congress this Haitian representative utilized the name "Stanley." It was not known whether this was his true name or merely an alias. This Haitian is of the Negroid race, a cripple and is approximately six feet, one inch tall.

REC 8 100-428041-5553

While at the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union this Haitian met with William Kashtan, General Secretary, Communist Party of Canada, and reportedly told Kashtan that "they" were interested in purchasing fast boats and arms, including machine guns, for "Haiti" if such material could be located in Canada. The Haitian reportedly commented to Kashtan that while such material was available from Cuba, "they" preferred to obtain this material from other sources if possible.

MAY 19 1966

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Wick \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

NJM:dms

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~~TOP SECRET~~

SEE NOTE PAGE THREE

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

MAY 23 1966

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

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~~TOP SECRET~~

Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State

During the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Henry Winston, Vice Chairman of the Communist Party, USA, once again met with this Haitian whom he had previously met in Chile in 1965. At this meeting Winston renewed his prior commitment that the Communist Party, USA, would provide offset printing equipment to the Party of People's Alliance of Haiti. It was learned at this meeting that the Haitian's main contact in Canada was Stanley Ryerson, a functionary of the Communist Party of Canada, who operates from Toronto, Ontario.

The Haitian provided Winston with the following addresses which could be utilized for the transmission of written communications and documentary material:

Garcia Perez  
Ave. Morelos 65  
Mexico City, D. F.  
This address was recommended  
for the transmission of documents and similar material.

Romulo Rozo  
Calle Sacramento 521  
Mexico City, D. F.  
This address recommended for  
use in connection with written  
communications.

Stanley Ryerson  
Toronto, Canada  
This address was preferred over the  
previous two and could be utilized  
not only for written communications,  
but also for possibly arranging direct  
contact.

~~TOP SECRET~~



~~TOP SECRET~~

Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State

1 - Director BY LIAISON  
Central Intelligence Agency

Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

TO [redacted] 5/18/66  
RDS

b6  
b7c

1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

1 - Office of Counterintelligence and Security BY LIAISON  
Defense Intelligence Agency

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave danger to the Nation. Source obtained this information during his attendance at the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Moscow, and at a meeting between Henry Winston and the Haitian who is believed to be a representative of the Party of People's Alliance of Haiti. Data extracted from Chicago airtel 5/10/66, captioned "Solo, IS - C."

Pertinent material contained in this communication is being furnished to Legat, Ottawa separately.

~~TOP SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Wick	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. Conrad *JWC*

DATE: May 17, 1966

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S\* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 5/17/66, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at scheduled times and frequencies but no messages were transmitted.

ACTION:

For information.

*5-18 9:00 AM*

*Shaw*

*S*

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock



*HS*  
HS:dek  
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*Downing*

REC 8 | 00-428091-5554

6 MAY 20 1966

*F116*  
65 MAY 23 1966

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

- Tolson
- DeLoach
- Mohr
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: May 11, 1966

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *fbj*

- 1 - DeLoach
- 1 - Sullivan
- 1 - Baumgardner
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Shaw

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

15  
100-428091-10  
OFFICE

This is to recommend that data developed by CG 5824-S\* during his recent mission to the Soviet Union, concerning a meeting between members of the Communist Party, USA, Delegation to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and several leading Soviet officials, be disseminated to the White House, the Attorney General, the Secretaries of State and Defense, and the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

In April, 1966, Mikhail A. Suslov and Boris N. Ponomarev, leading members of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, were among the Soviet officials who met in the Soviet Union with Communist Party, USA, leaders Henry Winston, James Jackson and Hy Lumer, who composed the Communist Party, USA, Delegation to the Soviet Congress.

During the meeting, Winston mentioned that the peace move in the United States was becoming broader and that the next Congressional elections would provide the forum for the continuing struggle against the "imperialist war" in Vietnam. He boasted that the Communist Party, USA, is reaching the "opinion makers" and real public leaders in the United States.

Mikhail Suslov stated the fact that so many fraternal parties sent delegates to the Soviet Congress means that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union can move forward in the mobilization of the world communist movement. He mentioned that Soviet material aid and military assistance is literally flowing to Vietnam and, if the escalation of the war by the United States continues, the Soviet Union will send "more and more" aid to the Vietnamese people.

Boris Ponomarev mentioned that there is a possibility to develop contacts between the Soviet Union and the United States along cultural lines, along scientific lines, on a government level and on the basis of public organizations.

100-428091  
Enclosures

REC-8 100-428091-5555

CONTINUED-COVERY 20 1966

WGS:pah

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65 MAY 23 1966

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Boani  
Ryde

*Handwritten signatures and initials:*  
D...  
S...  
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R...  
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Sh...

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
Re: SOLO  
100-428091

He wondered how the American people would feel about the development of such contacts in view of the fact that the United States is waging an "aggressive war" against the Vietnamese people.

James Jackson replied that such contacts would help the image of the Soviet Union in the United States.

Suslov noted that three months ago someone from the United States Department of State made a request for a visa to come to the Soviet Union as a "tourist." This request was rejected and Suslov wondered what the reaction would be at the United States Department of State when the Soviets request visas for their delegates to attend the Communist Party, USA, National Convention, scheduled to be held in New York City, 6/22 - 26/66.

Jackson suggested that the Soviets apply for visas as press correspondents who are coming to the United States to cover the National Convention. He noted that in this manner it should be possible to obtain visas without any difficulty.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached summary be sent to Honorable Marvin Watson; Special Assistant to the President; Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; Honorable Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense; Vice Admiral William F. Raborn, Jr., Director of the Central Intelligence Agency; the Attorney General and the Deputy Attorney General by routing slips, incorporating the data furnished by CG 5824-S\*.

WA

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ENCLOSURE

1 - 5856

## War and Revolution

On September 8 of this year there appeared in *Renmin Ribao*, organ of the Communist Party of China, an article which brings the controversy in the world Communist movement to a new point. The article, by Lin Piao, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the CPC and Minister of National Defense, commemorates the twentieth anniversary of the defeat of Japan. It is entitled "Long Live the Victory of People's War!"\*

That this is looked upon as something more than merely another in an endless series of articles is evident not only from the status of its author but even more from the exceptional distribution and publicity given to it by the Chinese leadership. The reason for this is made clear by the article's content, for it goes far beyond the customary realm of ideological dispute. In its final sections it becomes a manifesto laying down a world strategy of revolution and issuing a call to action.

As such, it cannot be ignored. The Communist Party of the United States, along with other parties, has fully supported the proposal of the Moscow Conference of last March to refrain from public polemics. However, in the face of a direct call for a course of action which we are certain can lead, if it is followed, only to catastrophe, we feel it would be wrong to remain silent. It is necessary to take the sharpest issue with such a line and energetically to combat it.

### *People's Wars Will Defeat Imperialism*

From the outset, the ideological conflict has centered around the question of whether or not peaceful coexistence is an attainable objective. The leaders of the Chinese party have contended that it is not, on the grounds that, whatever the relationship of forces, the innate tendencies of imperialism drive it inexorably toward war. This propensity is thus beyond the control of its opponents—a view which is expressed in the oft-repeated assertion that "whether or not the imperialists will unleash war is not determined by us; we are, after all, not their chief-of-staff." (*Long Live Leninism*, Foreign Languages

\*It appears in English translation in *Peking Review*, September 2, 1965; also as a pamphlet issued by the Foreign Language Press in Peking.

Press, Peking, 1960, p. 21.) One can seek to live in peace with such a monster, therefore, only by capitulating to it, by letting it have its way without resistance. To this the only alternative is to counter war with war—to take the initiative in waging war against imperialism.

These ideas find their full crystallization in Lin's article. It begins with a lengthy analysis of the Chinese experiences in the war against Japan and subsequently in the struggle against the forces of Chiang Kai-shek. It deals in some detail with the strategy and tactics evolved by Mao Tse-tung at the head of the Communist Party of China. This pattern, which is pictured as that of a people's war fought by the Chinese people with their own resources against a militarily more powerful foe,\* is presented as being of universal applicability among peoples seeking their national freedom and the path toward socialism. These goals, Lin contends, are attainable only through the waging of people's wars; indeed, the concluding portion of the article takes as its point of departure the complete identification of revolution with war. It states:

In the last analysis, the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution is the theory of the seizure of state power by revolutionary violence, the theory of countering war against the people by people's war. As Marx so aptly put it: "Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one." (*Capital*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954, Vol. I, p. 751.)

It was on the basis of the lessons derived from the people's wars in China that Comrade Mao Tse-tung, using the simplest and most vivid language, advanced the famous thesis that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." ("Problems of War and Strategy," *Selected Works*, Vol. II.)

He clearly pointed out: "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries." (*Ibid.*)

As the basis of this "principle," Lin offers the proposition:

... So long as imperialism and the system of exploitation of man by man exist, the imperialists and reactionaries will invariably rely on armed force to maintain their reactionary rule and impose war on the oppressed nations and peoples. *This is an objective law independent of man's will.* (Emphasis added.)

\*This is not an accurate picture of the Chinese revolution itself, as we shall show later.

And since one is thus confronted by people who, in Mao Tse-tung's words, "have swords in their hands and are out to kill," it follows that:

In the last analysis, whether one dares to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against armed aggression and suppression by the imperialists and their lackeys, whether one dares to fight a people's war against them, means whether one dares to embark on revolution. *This is the most effective touchstone for distinguishing genuine from fake revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists.* (Emphasis added.)

Consequently, in the name of revolution, an appeal is made to all the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to launch people's wars directed against U.S. imperialism—to "defeat U.S. imperialism and its lackeys by people's war." "History has proved and will go on proving," the article says, "that people's war is the most effective weapon against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. All revolutionary people will learn to wage people's war against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys." And it ends on the following note:

All peoples suffering from U.S. imperialist aggression, oppression and plunder, unite! Hold aloft the just banner of people's war and fight for the cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism! Victory will certainly go to the people of the world!

Long live the victory of people's war!

#### *Thesis Identifying Revolution With War*

We shall have more to say later about the Chinese leaders' conception of people's war. But first let us turn our attention to the basic thesis of the identity of war and revolution—a thesis which can only be described as both false and dangerous.

It is essential to note at the start that the question at issue is not whether the use of violence is *ever* justified. Unquestionably there are cases in which this form of struggle is necessary. Rather, the question is whether it is the *only* form—whether its applicability is universal. What the article contends is that there is *no path to victory over imperialism other than the military path.*

What is the basis of this contention? That the Chinese experience, which was one of protracted revolutionary war, is the pattern for all other countries. The article indicates this when it says: "Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war has been proved by the long practice of the Chinese revolution to be in accord with the objective laws of such wars and to be invincible. It has not only been valid for China, it is a great contribution to the revolutionary struggles of the



oppressed nations and peoples throughout the world." But this completely to generalize the applicability of the path of armed struggle taken by the Chinese people is an utterly dogmatic approach, entirely alien to the methodology of Marxism-Leninism. As M. A. Suslov has pointed out, it leaves out of account the enormous diversity of conditions and experiences in different countries. Suslov writes:

It is particularly typical of the Chinese leaders that they completely ignore the immense variety of conditions in which the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America exist.

It is well known that these countries stand at different levels of socio-economic and political development. One group of countries has already taken the socialist road. Another group has won political independence and set about effecting radical social reforms. A third group of countries, where the national bourgeoisie has come to power, adheres on the whole to an anti-imperialist position. There are countries which have formally acquired political independence but have virtually failed to become independent because of the puppet regimes that have come to power in them or because of their participation in imperialist blocs. Lastly, there are countries where colonial regimes remain and whose peoples are waging a heroic struggle for their freedom. (*Struggle of the CPSU for the Unity of the World Communist Movement*, Cross-currents Press, New York, 1964, pp. 32-33.)

The peoples of these countries face diverse tasks at widely differing levels, which require varied methods of struggle involving political, diplomatic, economic and military forms in various combinations. To reduce all these to a single formula of armed struggle is to depart from reality.

Nor can such dogmatism be upheld by appeals to the writings of Marx and Lenin, both of whom were anything but rigid on such questions. Indeed, the quotation from Marx used by Lin can be made to serve this purpose only by being taken out of context. The statement appears in the course of a discussion of primitive accumulation—the initial acquisition of capital by the emergent capitalist class. Marx writes:

... In England at the end of the 17th century, they [the moments of primitive accumulation] arrive at a systematical combination, embracing the colonies, the national debt, the modern mode of taxation, and the protective system. These methods depend in part on brute force, e.g., the colonial system. But they all employ the power of the State, the concentrated and organized force of society, to hasten, hothouse fashion, the process of transformation

of the feudal mode of production into the capitalist mode, and to shorten the transition. Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one. It is itself an economic power.

Is it not clear that the force of which Marx speaks here is that exercised by the state, which emerging capitalism brings increasingly under its sway and uses as a means of enriching itself, and not the force of violent revolution against the existing state power? Certainly the statement cannot be construed as referring to the universal necessity of armed uprising as the only form of revolution.

#### *Ignore New Conditions For Victory Over Imperialism*

Moreover, history does not bear out the article's thesis; it demonstrates the contrary. A particularly striking case in point is Ghana, which has not only secured its political independence but has taken the road to socialism—without armed revolt. There are numerous other countries (Guinea, Mali and Tanzania in Africa, to name but a few) which have similarly won their freedom without war.

The source of war, it is true, is imperialism; and war, it is also true, may lead to revolution. But Communists do not on that account seek war as the necessary path to revolution; on the contrary, they strive to prevent war and to win their aims without it. On this point, the 81-Party Statement emphatically declares:

The imperialist reactionaries, who seek to arouse distrust for the Communist movement and its ideology, continue to intimidate the masses by alleging that the Communists need wars between states to overthrow the capitalist system and establish a socialist system. The Communist Parties emphatically reject this slander. The fact that both world wars, which were started by the imperialists, ended in socialist revolutions by no means implies that the way to social revolution goes necessarily through world war, especially now that there exists a powerful world system of socialism. Marxist-Leninists have never considered that the way to socialist revolution lies through wars between states. (New Century Publishers, New York, 1961, p. 26.)

Even in the days before World War I, when the world anti-imperialist forces were far too limited to prevent the outbreak of that conflict, Lenin made this point unmistakably clear. In April 1914 a Polish journalist, Alfred Maikosen, asked him with reference to the approaching war: "Do you crave for a conflict?"

Lenin replied:

No, I don't want it. Why should I wish it? I am doing and will do everything in my power to prevent mobilization and war. I do not wish millions of proletarians to exterminate each other, paying for the madness of capitalism. No misunderstanding is to be allowed in this respect.

Objectively to predict a war, to try, should this calamity be unleashed, to make full use of it is one thing. To wish for war and work for it is something quite different.\*

If the possibility of successful revolution without war, whether for national freedom or for socialism, has been greatly enhanced in recent times, this is, to be sure, not due to any lessening of the predatory, warlike nature of imperialism. Its rapacious appetite for profit and plunder remains undiminished. What *has* happened, however, is that its capacity to satisfy that appetite has greatly decreased, thanks to the much greater power of the forces which oppose it.

Since capitalists are in business not to lay down their lives for sacred principles but to make money, it is but to be expected that there will be those in monopoly circles who will counsel retreat in the face of odds which appear to them overwhelmingly unfavorable, who prefer to adapt themselves to situations they feel they cannot control and seek other ways of maintaining their profits. On the other hand, there will remain those who cling to the opposite view and are prepared to defend the status quo at all costs. And the conflict between the two will sharpen as the difficulties of imperialism deepen.

Consequently, situations will increasingly arise in which the anti-imperialist forces prove strong enough to compel a retreat; indeed, there are numerous instances in which this has already happened. In other cases, to be sure, the anti-imperialist forces may suffer a setback. The outcome in any given case depends on the relationship of forces and the intensity of the political struggle waged against the imperialist policies. But the position taken in Lin's article completely negates the role of such political struggles and places reliance only on resort to arms.

#### *The Role of People's War and Vietnam*

Even where the question of violent conflict arises, history shows that solutions are most often arrived at not by military means alone but by a combination of political, diplomatic and military actions.

---

\*Cited by M. D. Kammari, "On the Relationship Between War and Revolution," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, August 6, 1965.

This is true, for example, of the Cuban crisis of October 1962, in which the threatened U.S. invasion was averted and Cuban independence safeguarded not by the sole force of Cuban arms but by diplomatic negotiations backed by weapons and supported by political pressures in this country and elsewhere. It is likewise true of the invasion of Egypt by British, French and Israeli troops some years earlier, which was repelled not by military victory of the Egyptian forces but by the compelled withdrawal of the invaders. Other cases can be cited.

In both these examples, the defeat of imperialism involved the combined strength of the world anti-imperialist forces. And in both, be it noted, the role of the Soviet Union was decisive. In general, when a people is compelled to take to arms in defense of its freedom, its struggle is part of the world struggle against imperialism and the outcome is determined by combined action on all fronts.

Lin's article, however, places the matter quite differently. The destruction of imperialism is envisioned as being accomplished solely through the military actions of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. "The whole capitalist-imperialist system," he writes, "has become drastically weaker and is in the process of increasing convulsion and disintegration." U.S. imperialism, despite its unprecedented strength, is especially vulnerable; spread out over the entire face of the globe, it is overextended. "Its human, military, material and financial resources are far from sufficient for the realization of its ambition of dominating the whole world." Through the launching of people's wars, therefore, and the merging of these "into a torrential world-wide tide of opposition to U.S. imperialism," it can be thrown off balance, split up and defeated. "U.S. imperialism like a mad bull dashing from place to place, will finally be burned to ashes in the blazing fires of the people's wars it has provoked by its own actions."

But what of the fact that these countries, themselves poorly armed, confront an adversary equipped with the most modern of armaments, including nuclear weapons? These, says Lin, "cannot save U.S. imperialism from its doom." First, it cannot lightly resort to nuclear weapons in the face of world opinion; if it does so, "it will become isolated in the extreme." Second, the threat to use such weapons exposes the United States to the same threat, and therefore incurs strong opposition from the American people as well as others. Third, "even if U.S. imperialism brazenly uses nuclear weapons, it cannot conquer the people, who are indomitable." Says Lin: "The spiritual atom bomb which the revolutionary people possess is a far more powerful and useful weapon than the physical atom bomb."

Vietnam is presented as "the most convincing current example of

a victim of aggression defeating U.S. imperialism, by a people's war." And "the more they escalate the war, the heavier will be their fall and the more disastrous will be their defeat."

"Ever since Lenin led the great October Revolution to victory," the article states, "the experience of innumerable revolutionary wars has borne out the truth that a revolutionary people who rise up with only their bare hands at the outset finally succeed in defeating the ruling classes who are armed to the teeth." In the case of Vietnam, this is spelled out further by Mao Tse-tung in an interview with Edgar Snow a number of months ago ("Interview with Mao," *New Republic*, February 27, 1965). Snow reports Mao as holding the view that "in truth the Chinese revolution was armed by Americans. In the same way the Vietnamese revolution was also being armed by Americans. . . ." Also: "Americans forces in Vietnam were still relatively small. If they increased they could help speed up the arming of the people against them."\* In short, the more numerous the aggressors, the swifter the arming of the people at their expense and the more decisive their ultimate victory.

The outlook for the Vietnamese people is thus presented as one of protracted war, culminating ultimately in military victory over U.S. imperialism and its supporters—in short, a carbon copy of the Chinese experience.

To hold forth the prospect of a purely military defeat of U.S. imperialism in this manner, however, is grossly to underestimate its strength and destructive capacity. True, continued escalation is only leading U.S. imperialism deeper and deeper into a bog of endless slaughter, with the chances of a military solution in its favor growing ever dimmer. But by the same token the Vietnamese people are equally condemned, on military grounds alone, to an interminable bloody stalemate, enormously costly in lives and property.

It is true, too, that historically imperialism is on the way out, and the balance of forces is turning increasingly against it. But whatever its difficulties, U.S. imperialism can hardly be said to be "in the process of increasing convulsion and disintegration." Nor are there any grounds for comparing it with the France of 1954—a France which had suffered military defeat in World War II, which was heavily involved in war in Algeria at the same time, and which was rocked by internal economic and political instability. In contrast, the United

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\*Snow states, at the beginning of his account: "It was agreed that I might publish, without direct quotation, such of the chairman's account as is given below."

States commands vast military, economic and manpower resources, which the war has only begun to tap.

*Minimizing Danger of Nuclear Conflagration*

And what of the danger that the war may be escalated into a world war fought with nuclear weapons? The article makes light of this arguing not only that U.S. imperialism will hesitate to employ nuclear weapons but also as follows:

. . . There have been wars of national liberation throughout the twenty years since World War II. But has any single one of them developed into a world war? Isn't it true that the U.S. imperialists' plans for a world war have been upset precisely thanks to the wars of national liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America?

Such arguments, however, fly in the face of reality, for they are based on a partial, one-sided picture. In the first place, the danger of nuclear warfare cannot be so easily dismissed. It is well to remember that in those situations in which U.S. imperialism has been most directly involved, we have more than once come frighteningly close to the brink of nuclear conflict.

It is worth recalling, for one thing, Truman's admission that his administration had seriously considered the use of atom bombs in the Korean War. It is also worth recalling that the Eisenhower Administration was no less ready to resort to such weapons. Corliss Lamont writes ("Why the Bomb Was Dropped," *New World Review*, November 1965):

As part of a preview of Eisenhower's new book, *Waging Peace*, 1955-60, the *New York Times* of Sept. 12, 1965, disclosed that in 1953 Eisenhower as President "let word leak out that unless a satisfactory armistice could be arranged in Korea, the United States would use its nuclear power to gain full victory. Shortly thereafter the Communists agreed to armistice terms." In the same article the *Times* revealed that in order to defend the Chinese offshore islands of Matsu and Quemoy (less than seven miles from the mainland) against the Communists, Eisenhower and Dulles in 1953 drafted a memorandum on how the United States, to be successful, might "face the necessity of using small-yield atomic weapons against hostile airfields."

No less significant is the fact that in 1954, the year of Dien Bien

Phu, Dulles twice proposed to French Premier Bidault the dropping of nuclear bombs on Vietnam and southern China.\*

True, these particular threats did not materialize. But it is clear that in these circumstances the danger of nuclear war was immensely increased. In today's war in Vietnam the dangers are even greater. Unless the present policy is reversed, the hopelessness of military victory for U.S. imperialism at the current level of the conflict must lead to further escalations which can all too easily culminate in a world nuclear war. To reject the political fight for peace in Vietnam, for reversal of the Johnson policy, for removal of all U.S. forces, and instead to call only for continuation of the war until finally these forces are driven out militarily, is to gamble with nuclear catastrophe.

But the article goes further. It calls upon other peoples to emulate the Vietnamese by launching wars of their own, saying: "The people in other parts of the world will see still more clearly that U.S. imperialism can be defeated, and that what the Vietnamese people can do, they can do too." In short, the world is to be plunged into a prolonged era of warfare—a course which can only end in nuclear war.

This point is overlooked by Lin and by those in this country who support the Chinese view. The editors of the *Monthly Review* argue that since the basic problems of the oppressed countries, in particular the elementary problem of feeding their populations, cannot be solved within the framework of imperialism; hence the tide of revolution throughout the underdeveloped world is bound to rise, and U.S. imperialism will find it impossible to cope with it. They say:

... There are some 15 million inhabitants in South Vietnam. According to latest reports, the United States is planning to increase its troop strength there to at least a quarter of a million men. Let us assume, though it may well not be true, that this will be enough to ensure the continued military occupation of a large part of the country. The ratio of occupying forces to indigenous population is thus approximately 1 to 60. Applying the same ratio to the underdeveloped parts of the "free world," containing in all something like a billion and a half inhabitants, we find that an occupying force of no less than 25 million would be needed.

Absurd? Well, yes, in a way. Obviously the United States could never raise and support that kind of an occupying force. But as a statement of where present policies are leading it is not absurd at all. The plain truth is that the United States is taking on com-

\*Roscoe Drummond and Gaston Coblenz, *Duel at the Brink*, New York, 1960, pp. 116-123. Cited by Hugh Deane in *The War in Vietnam*, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1963.

mitments which it cannot possibly fulfill. If it continues along this road, the result will be exactly what the Chinese foresee—eventual exhaustion and defeat. ("The Necessity of Revolution," *Monthly Review*, December 1965.)

We cannot quarrel with the conclusion that imperialism cannot solve the economic problems of the underdeveloped countries, nor with the conclusion that U.S. imperialism is taking on commitments it cannot fulfill. But the consequences cannot be reduced to a mere matter of arithmetical extrapolation. The very hopelessness of the attempt to cope with the situation by expanded military aggression leads, if it is persisted in, to ever greater pressures to compensate by resort to nuclear weapons, as well as to the growing political ascendancy of those who advocate such a course.

The ultimate defeat of U.S. imperialism may be a built-in consequence of the present world picture, but that it should carry the world to destruction with itself is not. The aim of the world anti-imperialist forces, and not least of the American people, must be to curb its aggressiveness, to force it to yield in the face of the tide of national liberation. There is no alternative to this other than the disaster of a nuclear bloodbath.

Of course, the Chinese leaders have consistently minimized the destructiveness of nuclear weapons, and they do so now. Of the eventuality of world war, Lin has only this to say: "If the U.S. imperialists should insist on launching a third world war, it can be stated categorically that many more hundreds of millions of people will turn to socialism; the imperialists will then have little room left on the globe; and it is possible that the whole structure of imperialism will collapse." Of the hundreds of millions who would perish and of the incalculable destruction of material wealth, he says nothing.

Mao, in his interview with Snow, makes light of this destructiveness. Snow reports his views as follows:

Americans also had said very much about the destructiveness of the atom bomb and Khrushchev had made a big noise about that. . . . Yet recently he had read reports of an investigation by Americans who had visited the Bikini Island six years after the nuclear tests had been conducted there. From 1959 onward research workers had been in Bikini. When they first entered the island they had had to cut paths through the undergrowth. They had found mice scampering about and fish swimming in the stream as usual. The wellwater was potable, plantation foliage was flourishing, and birds were twittering in the trees. Probably there had been two bad years after the tests, but nature had gone on. In the eyes of nature and



the birds, the mice and the trees, the atom bomb was a paper tiger. Possibly man had less stamina than they?

The position of the Chinese leaders adds up to this: imperialism cannot be prevented from launching war; hence a new world war is inevitable. One can, therefore, only "oppose war with war" by taking to arms now against U.S. imperialism. If this leads to a nuclear holocaust, what of it? The result will be a tremendous victory for socialism. True Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries, says Lin, "never take a gloomy view of war."

We need not repeat here the accounts given by scientists and others of the indescribable havoc and annihilation nuclear weapons are capable of producing. We can only say that the logic of any optimism based on the inevitability of their use escapes us.

To be sure, nuclear war will not in the end save imperialism, but neither is there any doubt as to the incalculable destruction of human life it will wreak. In his tale of the birds, the mice and the fish, Mao fails to mention the generations nearly wiped out by the nuclear blast and its after-effects; we cannot, however, subscribe to the concept of a socialism built upon the decimation of mankind. Such a concept is totally at odds with the humanism, the concern for the welfare of their fellow men, by which Communists are motivated. To fight for socialism is to do everything possible to prevent nuclear war.

Does it follow from this that one must capitulate to imperialism, that there is no alternative to taking up arms, as the Chinese leaders contend? Not at all. If the threatened use of nuclear weapons did not materialize in the instances cited above, and if world war has been averted so far, this is not *alone* due to the waging of wars of national liberation. Nor is it *alone* due to the fears of isolation or retaliation in the U.S. imperialist camp. It is also the result of the growing mass movements for peace in the capitalist countries, including the United States. It is the result of the Soviet possession of nuclear weapons and the consistent employment of that possession in behalf of world peace and national freedom. It is the result of the anti-imperialist role of the growing body of newly liberated countries. In short, it is the result of the joint struggle of *all* the anti-imperialist forces on *all* fronts, which have on more than one occasion compelled U.S. imperialism to back down by confronting it with the one thing it understands: a superior combination of forces. Through such struggles U.S.

(Continued on p. 34)

*(Continued from p. 12)*

imperialism can be compelled to get out of Vietnam and the threat of nuclear war which the escalation poses can be removed.

To argue as Lin Piao does in his article is to abandon this path and to disunite the anti-imperialist forces in the face of the growing aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism.

In taking issue with the line presented by Lin Piao, we do not wish to minimize in the least the reactionary character of U.S. imperialism and its threat to world peace. That it is today the most reactionary and aggressive of all imperialisms, the bulwark of colonialism and the worst enemy of all peoples everywhere, there can be not the slightest doubt. That a relentless, uncompromising struggle must be waged against it by the forces of progress throughout the world, and above all within the United States itself--on this there can likewise be no room for disagreement. Our objection to Lin's position is that it *obstructs* such a struggle. With the question of how it *should* be waged, and with the meaning of the fight for peaceful coexistence we shall deal at greater length in the next editorial.

## National Liberation and the Anti-Imperialist Struggle

The recent article by the Chinese Communist leader Lin Piao,\*\* as we noted in our preceding editorial, based itself on the thesis that the Chinese experiences in the war against Japan and the subsequent civil war against the forces of Chiang Kai-shek are of universal applicability. On these grounds it proceeds to identify revolution with war and to call upon the oppressed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America to wage people's wars against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys as the only effective method of struggle for their freedom and for socialism.

With these ideas we took issue. We now proceed to deal with other aspects of the article.

### *The "Policy of Self-Reliance"*

In the people's wars which are to encompass the downfall of U.S. imperialism, Lin argues, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America must rely on their own strength, for such, we are told, was the experience of the Chinese people in *their* armed struggles. In fact, in the opening section of his article, he describes the war against Japan as if it were *solely* a war of the Chinese people. He asks:

How was it possible for a weak country finally to defeat a strong country? How was it possible for a seemingly weak army to become the main force in the war?

And he replies:

The basic reasons were that the War of Resistance against Japan was a genuine people's war led by the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, a war in which the correct Marxist-Leninist political and military lines were put into effect, and that the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies were genuine people's

\*The first part of this editorial article was published in *Political Affairs*, January, 1966. Copies are still available.

\*\*"Long Live the Victory of People's War!", *Peking Review*, September 3, 1965.

armies which applied the whole range of strategy and tactics of people's war as formulated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

This is quite true. But it is not the whole picture. Of the surrounding circumstances—of such things as the world-wide anti-fascist war, the military involvement of Japan with the United States in the Pacific, or the smashing defeat of the Hitlerite forces and the central role of the Soviet Union in that defeat—Lin here says nothing. To be sure, in a later section recognition is given to the fact that the war against the Japanese invaders took place within such a framework, and Lin states: "The common victory was won by all the peoples, who gave one another support and encouragement." However, this mutual interdependence is regarded as being of distinctly secondary importance. The very next sentence says: "Yet each country was, above all, liberated as a result of its own people's efforts." And it is on this aspect that all emphasis is placed. Thus, the article asserts:

The people's armed forces led by our Party independently waged people's war on a large scale and won great victories without any material aid from outside, both during the more than eight years of the anti-Japanese war and during the more than three years of the People's War of Liberation.

When this conception is applied to all countries seeking their liberation today, what emerges is the idea of a number of countries waging separate wars against U.S. imperialism, each relying primarily on its own military means and each independently seeking its own victory. The final defeat of the common enemy is envisioned as resulting from the cumulative impact of a number of such individual wars waged simultaneously.

One must fight with one's own resources. Arms are to be obtained by capturing them from the imperialist adversary, and "foreign aid can play only a supplementary role." Such is the advice given to the oppressed peoples and particularly to the Vietnamese people. Their outlook must be to win on their own, and they can do so. When Mao Tse-tung was asked by Edgar Snow "Can Viet Cong forces now win victory by their own efforts alone?" the answer was "Yes, he thought that they could."\*

We have already dwelt in our previous editorial on the futility of a country such as Vietnam seeking singlehandedly to defeat U.S. imperialism militarily, and on the danger of escalation of such con-

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\*Edgar Snow, "Interview with Mao," *New Republic*, February 27, 1965.

flicts into nuclear war. Here we wish only to touch on the following points.

To begin with, the proposition that the Chinese people independently waged war against Japanese aggression and achieved victory on their own is, to say the least, extremely dubious. The fact is that the victory of the Chinese people over Japan and the creation of the conditions for the subsequent rout of Chiang Kai-shek were made possible by the crushing defeat of the Axis powers at the hands of all the forces allied against them, and particularly by the historic victory of the Soviet Union over the Nazi invaders. Had the outcome been reversed, had the Axis powers triumphed, could the Chinese people have won their war against Japanese imperialism? Could they have won the people's liberation war against Chiang Kai-shek? The answer is obvious; indeed, it was given by Mao Tse-tung himself in a 1949 speech in these words:

... Had there been no Soviet Union, had there been no victory in the anti-fascist Second World War, had Japanese imperialism not been defeated (which is particularly important for us), had there been no People's Democracies in Europe, had there been no growing struggle of the oppressed countries of the East, had there been no struggle of the masses in the United States, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan against the ruling reactionary cliques—had none of these factors existed, then the pressure of the international reactionary forces would have been much stronger than it is today. Would we have been able to achieve victory in these circumstances? Of course not. (*On People's Democratic Rule*, New Century Publishers, New York, 1950, p. 7.)

In short, the great victories of the Chinese people, ranking second only to the victory of the October Socialist Revolution itself, were possible only as part of the whole anti-fascist coalition, as part of the world forces of progress. In fact, if such a coalition had materialized in the thirties in support of the policy of collective security, it might well have been possible to halt fascist aggression without World War II. It is this great lesson of those years—the need for alliance in common struggle of all forces opposing imperialist aggression—that Lin's article casts aside.

All this is not to deny the basic truth that each people must make its own revolution—that revolution can be neither imported nor exported. But if revolutionary struggles are to be successful, they must be conducted not in isolation but as part of the totality of the forces of progress. Lin's notion that each country must fight U.S. imperialism on its own, on the contrary, is one that leads to fragmenting the anti-

imperialist forces, not to uniting them, to weakening the struggle against imperialism, not to strengthening it.

*The "Cities" and the "Country."*

The division of the world anti-imperialist forces is further pursued by Lin along the following lines. If the Chinese experience of waging war independently with one's own resources applies in all other cases, so does the Chinese strategy in such a war, which was one of occupying the countryside and surrounding the cities, in which the Japanese forces were installed. The article states: "It must be emphasized that Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of the establishment of rural revolutionary base areas and the encirclement of the cities from the countryside is of outstanding and universal practical importance for the present revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed nations and peoples. . . ." This concept is then applied to the strategic situation on a global scale. Lin writes:

Taking the entire globe, if North America and Western Europe can be called "the cities of the world," then Asia, Africa and Latin America constitute "the rural areas of the world." Since World War II, the proletarian revolutionary movement has for various reasons been temporarily held back in the North American and West European capitalist countries, while the people's revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America has been growing vigorously. In a sense, the contemporary world revolution also represents a picture of the encirclement of cities by the rural areas. In the final analysis, the whole cause of world revolution hinges on the revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples who make up the overwhelming majority of the world's population.

Elsewhere he expresses the same idea in these words: "The contradiction between the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the imperialists headed by the United States is the principal contradiction in the contemporary world."

There is no doubt that the sharpest struggles today are in the arena of national liberation. And there is no doubt as to the preeminent role which these currently play in the totality of the anti-imperialist struggles. We submit, however, that the way in which Lin places the matter is fundamentally wrong.

In picturing the basic world alignment of forces as one of the "countryside" against the "cities," he assigns no role to the socialist countries and the forces of progress in the major capitalist countries other than the distinctly subsidiary one of giving assistance to the oppressed

peoples in their wars. The brunt of the struggle is seen as resting on these peoples themselves; indeed, the central conflict in the world today is viewed as simply one between them and imperialism, and its overthrow as essentially their task alone.

The obvious effect of such an approach is to isolate the national liberation struggles from other struggles against imperialism, to divide the anti-imperialist forces. But this approach stems from an erroneous conception of the contradictions of modern society. The *basic* contradiction in the present stage of social development is that between imperialism and socialism. *This* is the central conflict in relation to which all struggles, all revolutions must be viewed.

A recent editorial in *Kommunist* ("Proletarian Internationalism and Bourgeois Nationalism," No. 9, 1965) calls attention to the emphasis given by Lenin to this point:

Noting the tremendous role played by the national-liberation movement in the world revolutionary process, Lenin especially stressed the importance of the struggle between imperialism and socialism as represented by Soviet Russia in his time. "If we lose sight of that fact," said Lenin, "we shall not be able correctly to pose a single question of nationalities or colonies, even though it may concern the remotest part of the world. Only from that point of view can political problems be correctly posed and solved by the Communist Parties both in the civilized and the backward countries." (*Complete Works*, Vol. 41, p. 242.)

The 81-Party Statement of 1960 expresses this idea in terms of the present historical situation. It says:

Our time, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Revolution, is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale.

*It is the principal characteristic of our time that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society.* (Emphasis in original.)

In particular, the existence of a socialist one-third of the world has been a cardinal factor in the great upsurge of the national liberation movement in recent years. The socialist countries, and especially the Soviet Union, have been a powerful bulwark and source of aid to all peoples struggling for their freedom. Their assistance in every sphere

—economic, political, military—has been *not incidental but vital* to the successes which have been achieved against colonialism, and is in great measure responsible for the fact that such successes could in many instances be registered without resorting to armed conflict.

Also important are the democratic struggles being waged by the workers and other forces of progress in the imperialist countries. These the article brushes aside with the comment that “the proletarian revolutionary movement has for various reasons been held back in the North American and West European capitalist countries.” It is true that no socialist revolutions are taking place in these parts of the world at this moment in history. What is taking place, however, is the growth of democratic anti-monopoly struggles which are serving to lay the basis and mobilize the forces for placing socialism on the order of the day in the not too remote future.

Especially noteworthy on the American scene are the tremendous upsurge of the civil rights movement, the striking rise of the peace movement, and the increasing indications of the development of a new wave of economic struggles. These processes are accompanied by a rising level of political consciousness and by growing tendencies for these struggles to merge into a common stream of opposition to the reactionary policies of U.S. monopoly capital at home and abroad. (Note, for example, the active opposition to the war in Vietnam by sections of the civil rights movement.)

Clearly, these struggles are not of minor, subsidiary significance in relation to the world anti-imperialist conflict but constitute one of its vital components. The struggle of the American people against the war of aggression in Vietnam is no less material in shaping its outcome than the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people themselves. *Both* struggles are essential, and it is their *combined* strength which is decisive.

Indeed, the combined power of *all* sectors of the anti-imperialist front is essential to the ultimate defeat and abolition of imperialism. To reduce matters to terms of a military conflict between the “country-side” and the “cities” is to isolate these sectors one from the other and to weaken the effectiveness of all of them. It is to rule out any concept of alliance embracing the manifold forms of struggle which are required.

#### *On National-Democratic and Socialist Revolutions*

Lin's underestimation of the role of democratic struggles is apparent also in his treatment of the different types of revolution in the oppressed countries. And here, too, the effort to apply the Chinese pattern



#### NATIONAL LIBERATION

universally leads to erroneous conclusions.

The article bases itself on Mao Tse-tung's concept of "new-democratic revolution." It states:

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that, in the epoch since the October Revolution, anti-imperialist revolution in any colonial or semi-colonial country is no longer part of the old bourgeois, or capitalist world revolution, but is part of the new world revolution, the proletarian-socialist world revolution.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has formulated a complete theory of the new-democratic revolution. He indicated that this revolution, which is different from all others, can only be, nay must be, a revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism waged by the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat.

*This means that the revolution can only be, nay must be, led by the proletariat and the genuinely revolutionary party armed with Marxism-Leninism, and by no other class or party. (Emphasis added.)*

Within this framework, Lin continues,

Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a correct distinction between the two revolutionary stages, *i.e.*, the national-democratic and the socialist revolutions; at the same time he correctly and closely linked the two. The national-democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution, and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the national-democratic revolution.

The premise upon which the validity of these general propositions is based is, of course, the universal applicability of the experiences of the Chinese revolution. Thus, the above quotations are followed by the statement: "The Chinese revolution provides a successful lesson for making a thoroughgoing national-democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat; it likewise provides a successful lesson for the timely transition from the national-democratic-revolution to the socialist revolution under the leadership of the proletariat."

In sum, Mao's view is that in the present historical epoch a national liberation revolution must take place *in its totality* under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party—that is, it must *from the outset* be a revolution leading to socialism. Presumably, any national liberation struggle under other leadership cannot be considered genuinely anti-imperialist. In keeping with these ideas, the national-democratic and socialist revolutions are viewed as being *invariably* two closely-linked stages in a single revolutionary process,

in which one follows directly upon the other. And, of course, all national liberation revolutions must take the form of armed conflict.

There are, it is true, instances which conform more or less closely to the picture presented by Mao. We maintain, however, that to attempt to fit the enormous diversity of situations in different countries dogmatically into the strait jacket of a single pattern is to depart from Marxist-Leninist theory—and more, to fly in the face of reality.

Whether a given national liberation movement is or is not anti-imperialist is not determined by which class or classes lead it. On this point, it is worth recalling Lenin's views, as summed up by Stalin in *Foundations of Leninism* in 1924 (International Publishers, New York, 1939, pp. 80-81):

... The revolutionary character of a national movement under the conditions of imperialist oppression does not necessarily presuppose the existence of proletarian elements in the movement, the existence of a revolutionary or a republican program of the movement, the existence of a democratic basis of the movement. The struggle the Emir of Afghanistan is waging for the independence of Afghanistan is objectively a *revolutionary* struggle, despite the monarchist views of the Emir and his associates, for it weakens, disintegrates, and undermines imperialism; whereas the struggle waged by "desperate" Democrats and "Socialists," "revolutionaries" and republicans such as, for example, Kerensky and Tsereteli, Renaudel and Scheidemann, Chernov and Dan, Henderson and Clynes, during the imperialist war was a *reactionary* struggle, for its result was the whitewashing, the strengthening, the victory of imperialism. For the same reasons the struggle the Egyptian merchants and bourgeois intellectuals are waging for the independence of Egypt is objectively a *revolutionary* struggle, despite the bourgeois origin and bourgeois title of the leaders of the Egyptian national movement, despite the fact that they are opposed to socialism; whereas the fight the British Labor Government is waging to perpetuate Egypt's dependent position is for the same reasons a *reactionary* struggle, despite the proletarian origin and proletarian title of the members of that government, despite the fact that they are "for" socialism.

The most elementary aspect of the struggle for national liberation is the fight for national sovereignty, and the tremendous successes of the national liberation movement since World War II are registered first of all in the appearance of a large body of newly sovereign states. These are neither imperialist nor socialist states; on the whole, however, they are part of the anti-imperialist camp, and it is very

largely their emergence that has led to the tipping of the world balance of forces against the camp of imperialism.

As we have already noted, conditions, levels of development and relationships of class forces in these countries vary tremendously. In some, the struggle for national freedom has been led by worker-peasant coalitions, in others by the national bourgeoisie, and in still others by a wide variety of coalitions of forces. In some, in fact there exists as yet only a rudimentary working class at best, and its growth awaits the development of modern industry made possible by liberation. Some have taken the path to socialism; in others, struggles for the most elementary democratic rights are in progress.

The achievement of political independence is but the first step in national liberation. It opens the door to a new stage of struggle for economic independence, agrarian reform, industrialization, extension of democratic rights and similar goals. This struggle is part of the national-democratic revolution, and it can be waged effectively, in the words of the 81-Party Statement, only "by all the patriotic forces of the nations united in a single national-democratic front."

For the problems faced by the newly independent nations, the Statement points out, "Different classes and parties offer different solutions. . . . As social contradictions grow the national bourgeoisie inclines more and more to compromising with domestic reaction and imperialism. The people, however, begin to see that the best way to abolish age-long backwardness and improve their living standards is that of non-capitalist development. . . . The working class and the broad peasant masses are to play the leading part in solving this basic social problem."

Where the workers and peasants are in the leadership at the outset, the transition to a socialist revolution may be rapid. In other cases the democratic struggles may be prolonged, and these may lead to the establishment of a national-democratic state of some duration, providing the basis for the ultimate transition to socialism. Concerning the nature of such a state, the 81-Party Statement says:

In the present historical situation, favorable domestic and international conditions arise in many countries for the establishment of an independent national democracy, that is, a state which consistently upholds its political and economic independence, fights against imperialism and its military blocs, against military bases on its territory; a state which fights against the new forms of colonialism and the penetration of imperialist capital; a state in which the people are insured broad democratic rights and freedom . . . the opportunity to work for the enactment of an agrarian reform

- and other democratic and social changes, and for participation in shaping government policy. The formation and consolidation of national democracies enables the countries concerned to make rapid social progress and play an active part in the peoples' struggles for peace, against the aggressive policies of the imperialist camp, for the complete abolition of the colonial yoke.

This entire area of richly varied democratic struggle and development, already in progress in many newly liberated countries, finds no place in the narrow, rigid scheme offered by Lin. The logic of his position is that either the working class and its socialist vanguard leads the revolution from its inception toward the socialist goal, or else nothing is accomplished but the exchange of colonialism for neo-colonialism. The alternative that the workers and peasants may strive for leadership within the broader democratic coalition is rejected. The end result is that the increasingly numerous and powerful groups of newly liberated countries is almost in its entirety gratuitously consigned to the camp of the imperialist foe, as countries which yet await their true liberation through people's wars. This concept, too, serves only to divide and weaken the anti-imperialist forces.

*Anti-Sovietism: Instrument of Imperialism*

Especially disquieting is Lin's vehement attack against those whom he calls the "Khrushchev revisionists"—a term intended to designate the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the first place, and presumably also those of all other parties which hold similar views on peaceful coexistence. Against these the article makes the following charges:

The Khrushchev revisionists have come to the rescue of U.S. imperialism just when it is most panic-stricken and helpless in its efforts to cope with people's war. Working hand in glove with the U.S. imperialists, they are doing their utmost to spread all kinds of arguments against people's war and, wherever they can, they are scheming to undermine it by overt or covert means.

The fundamental reason why the Khrushchev revisionists are opposed to people's war is that they have no faith in the masses and are afraid of U.S. imperialism, of war and of revolution. Like all other opportunists, they are blind to the power of the masses and do not believe that the revolutionary people are capable of defeating imperialism. They submit to the nuclear blackmail of the U.S. imperialists and are afraid that, if the oppressed peoples and nations rise up to fight people's wars or the people of socialist

countries repulse U.S. imperialist aggression, U.S. imperialism will become incensed, they themselves will become involved and *their fond dream of Soviet-U.S. cooperation to dominate the world will be spoiled.* (Emphasis added.)

A more severe condemnation of the leadership of a sister party—and more, of the leadership of the world's first land of socialism—could scarcely be made. And it has led to the rejection by the Chinese leaders of all pleas for unity of action against U.S. aggression in Vietnam. They state:

...If we were to take united action on the question of Vietnam with the leaders of the C.P.S.U. who are pursuing the Khrushchev revisionist line, wouldn't we be helping them to deceive the people of the world? Wouldn't we be joining them in betraying the revolutionary cause of the Vietnamese people? Wouldn't we be joining them in attacking the Chinese Communist Party and all other Marxist-Leninist parties? Wouldn't we be joining them in serving as accomplices of U.S. imperialism? Of course, we shall do nothing of the sort. ("Refutation of the New Leaders of the C.P.S.U. on 'United Action,'" by the Editorial Departments of *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqui*, *Peking Review*, November 12, 1965.)

What are the grounds offered by Lin for such grave charges and the consequent division of the socialist camp in the face of U.S. aggression? That the Soviet leaders, as he puts it, consider that "a nation without nuclear weapons is incapable of defeating an enemy with nuclear weapons, whatever methods of fighting it may adopt," that it "must capitulate to the enemy . . . or come under the 'protection' of some other nuclear power and submit to its beck and call." That they maintain that "a single spark in any part of the globe can touch off a world nuclear conflagration." In sum, that they call for a policy of peaceful coexistence and reject the CPC leaders' thesis of the defeat of imperialism solely through people's wars. The implication in the way in which the article treats these disagreements is that there can be no honest differences among Communists on such questions, and that to oppose their thesis is to be guilty of opportunist capitulation to the enemy.

For the further allegation of actual Soviet collaboration with U.S. imperialism, Lin's article offers no documentation. Other articles and editorials attempt to demonstrate it, however, largely by resorting to fragmentary quotations from Soviet and other sources, and by a series of unsupported assertions which at times are directly con-

tradictory to the facts. Of the latter, a most shocking example is the following:

... Before the fall of Khrushchev, they [the leaders of the CPSU] supported the suppression of the national-liberation movement in the Congo (L)\* by the U.S. imperialists under the cloak of the United Nations; and this resulted in the murder of the Congolese national hero Patrice Lumumba. Now Khrushchev's successors have willingly agreed to share the expenses of the U.S. armed intervention in the Congo (L) undertaken in the name of the United Nations, and in the U.N. Security Council they are supporting the U.S. hoax of "a national reconciliation" in the Congo (L) which is an attempt to strangle the revolutionary forces of the Congolese people. ("A Great Victory for Leninism," Editorial in *Honqui*, No. 4, reprinted in *Peking Review*, May 7, 1965.)

To anyone at all familiar with the facts of the case—with the unswerving opposition of the Soviet Union to the use of UN troops which took place in the Congo and its adamant refusal to pay one cent toward financing it, to the point where the United States was compelled to retreat from its insistence on such payment—this statement can only appear as an outright, deliberate distortion, since all these facts are well-known. And the basing of so serious a step as that of refusing joint action in defense of the Vietnamese people on such allegations as this is all the more disturbing.

Space prohibits a detailed examination of the numerous other allegations, nor is such an examination necessary here. There is likewise no need to give an account here of the record of Soviet aid to peoples seeking their freedom, or to dwell on the role which Soviet possession of nuclear weapons has played in obstructing the aggressive cold-war schemes of U.S. monopoly capital. Suffice it to point out that the Soviet Union has unequivocally opposed the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and has given unstinting aid to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; aid which the Vietnamese leaders have on numerous occasions publicly acknowledged. The statement of DRV Premier Pham Van Dong, on the occasion of the 48th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution, is typical:

... The CPSU, the Soviet government and Soviet people are resolutely and actively supporting the entire Vietnamese people in their righteous struggle against American imperialism. They support

\* (L) stands for Leopoldville.

the correct policy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the South Vietnam National Liberation Front and are giving the D.R.V. every assistance in strengthening its defense capacity and economy.

As for the Soviet position on relations with the United States, this is, we believe, made unmistakably clear in the recent interview of Premier Kosygin with James Reston of the *New York Times* (December 6, 1965). In reply to a question as to whether the "two major powers could work together for world order," Kosygin replied:

I am not quite clear on what you mean by "world order." What does it imply? The United States and the Soviet Union, the two most powerful states, should dictate our wills to other nations? If we should attempt to command other nations, that would be tantamount to fascism.

In reply to the question: "How can you reconcile 'peaceful coexistence' and these 'wars of national liberation'?" he stated:

We believe that wars of national liberation are just wars, and they will continue as long as there is national oppression by imperialist powers . . . People will always fight against oppression, for freedom and independence.

There is no peaceful coexistence between the slaveowner and the slave. We have never conceived of such a peaceful coexistence.

On the question of meeting with President Johnson, Kosygin stated: "In principle, we are in favor of such meetings. But I believe that so long as the Vietnam war continues, so long as bombs are falling on innocent people, such a meeting would not be feasible."

These are decidedly not the words of a collaborator with U.S. imperialism. Quite the contrary. And they are not just words; they are fully matched by Soviet support and assistance to the Vietnamese people.

It is not the role of the Soviet Union which gives aid and comfort to U.S. imperialism but anti-Sovietism, which U.S. ruling circles do all in their power to cultivate precisely because they see in the Soviet Union the very heart of the opposition to their aggressive designs.

There can be little doubt that the split in the world Communist movement encouraged U.S. imperialism in its decision to escalate the war in Vietnam, and equally little doubt that its continued existence gives further encouragement to this policy. To defeat the aim of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, what is needed above all is unity of

action of the socialist countries regardless of ideological differences. A Sovietism and the rejection of such unity do not help, but only delay the victory of the anti-imperialist forces.

### *The Role of the American People*

To defend world peace, to force U.S. monopoly capital to retreat from its aggressive policies—this is the central task of the day. But the main responsibility for its accomplishment lies not in Vietnam, not in Africa or Latin America. It lies in the United States. The task of curbing U.S. imperialism rests in the first place with the American people.

Not least among the inconsistencies in Lin's article is its insistence that whereas the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America must rely on their own strength in fighting for their liberation, the people of the United States must be freed from the rule of U.S. monopoly capital by others. But if revolution cannot be exported to other countries, neither can it be exported to the United States. Like all others, the American people must fight their own battles.

Yet, like all other peoples, they must fight them as part of the overall world struggle against imperialism. Moreover, within that totality they bear a *special* responsibility, living as they do in the very heartland of world imperialism. To help make them aware of this responsibility, to help mobilize them for the battle—these are the particular tasks of the Communists and other forces of progress in our country.

The logic of Lin's position is that the interests of the American people would be best served by egging U.S. imperialism on into ever deeper military involvement in Vietnam and other countries, so that the people of these countries may destroy it. But nothing could be farther from the truth. This is the path to nuclear war, to mass annihilation. It coincides with the course of action advocated by the fanatical ultra-Right, which clamors for all-out aggression against other peoples and the indiscriminate dropping of nuclear bombs as the means to victory in that aggression.

The interests of the American people will be served rather by organizing the widest possible opposition to the war policies of the Johnson Administration, and by making common cause with the forces of peace throughout the world. They will be served by combatting anti-Sovietism and by striving for closer ties and peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The struggle for peaceful coexistence is not, as Lin and other Chinese



leaders repeatedly assert, in conflict with the struggle for national liberation. On the contrary, *to fight for peaceful coexistence today is in the first place to fight for an end to U.S. aggression in Vietnam and for the full freedom of the Vietnamese people to decide their own future.*

But it does not end with this. The danger of world war today emanates not only from U.S. imperialism but also from its chief ally, West German imperialism. To fight for peaceful coexistence is therefore to fight against the policy of building a renazified, revanchist West Germany, and supplying it with nuclear weapons, of reviving a reactionary monopolist regime with its own dreams of imperialist conquest. It is to fight against the maintenance of West Berlin as an outpost of provocation and intrigue against the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries—an outpost which has more than once become the seat of crisis bringing the world to the brink of thermonuclear conflict. This aspect of the struggle is completely obscured by the line of Lin's article with its reduction of the global conflict to one between the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America against U.S. imperialism.

The fight for peaceful coexistence also entails the fight for recognition of People's China, for its admission to the UN, and for an end to the senseless total embargo on trade with it. This, too, is part of the special responsibility which falls upon the American people, and upon its progressive vanguard.

To adopt the approach in Lin's article would be to abdicate all such responsibilities, for it writes off the people of the United States as a major force in the anti-imperialist struggle, and it isolates them from their allies in other parts of the world. It is an approach which reflects a profound lack of faith in the masses of working people, particularly in the United States and other capitalist countries. But it is precisely, such faith which should motivate Communists in their struggles everywhere. Only on this basis can unity of all forces opposing imperialism be achieved and ultimate victory secured in the fight for peace, freedom and socialism.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

## War and Revolution

On September 3 of this year there appeared in *Renmin Ribao*, organ of the Communist Party of China, an article which brings the controversy in the world Communist movement to a new point. The article, by Lin Piao, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the CPC and Minister of National Defense, commemorates the twentieth anniversary of the defeat of Japan. It is entitled "Long Live the Victory of People's War!"\*

That this is looked upon as something more than merely another in an endless series of articles is evident not only from the status of its author but even more from the exceptional distribution and publicity given to it by the Chinese leadership. The reason for this is made clear by the article's content, for it goes far beyond the customary realm of ideological dispute. In its final sections it becomes a manifesto laying down a world strategy of revolution and issuing a call to action.

As such, it cannot be ignored. The Communist Party of the United States, along with other parties, has fully supported the proposal of the Moscow Conference of last March to refrain from public polemics. However, in the face of a direct call for a course of action which we are certain can lead, if it is followed, only to catastrophe, we feel it would be wrong to remain silent. It is necessary to take the sharpest issue with such a line and energetically to combat it.

### *People's Wars Will Defeat Imperialism*

From the outset, the ideological conflict has centered around the question of whether or not peaceful coexistence is an attainable objective. The leaders of the Chinese party have contended that it is not, on the grounds that, whatever the relationship of forces, the innate tendencies of imperialism drive it inexorably toward war. This propensity is thus beyond the control of its opponents—a view which is expressed in the oft-repeated assertion that "whether or not the imperialists will unleash war is not determined by us; we are, after all, not their chief-of-staff." (*Long Live Leninism*, Foreign Languages

\*It appears in English translation in *Peking Review*, September 2, 1965; also as a pamphlet issued by the Foreign Language Press in Peking.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/13/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)  
SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

*Van*  
*Shaw*

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies, and for the New York Office one copy, of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) entitled "OPINIONS REGARDING POSITION IN WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT OF GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA."

The information in the enclosed LHM was orally furnished on 4/28/66 by CG 5824-S\* to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed LHM has been classified "~~Top Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source, who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security.

*Al*

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared in Washington, D. C.

CG 5824-S\* advised that unquestionably the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union holds

- ② 1-904 9+D with Encls. REC 3/100-428091-5556
- ② - Bureau (Encls. 12) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encls. 3) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

WAB/mes  
(5)

EX-108

6 MAY 20 1966

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

Approved: *[Signature]*  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

55 JU

*What to State...*  
*1-100-428091-5556*  
*1-100-134637-1071/10*

CG 134-46 Sub B

GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, in very high regard and respect his ability as a Marxist theoretician. CG 5824-S\* stated that he cannot guarantee that these opinions expressed in the enclosed LHM were not insincere nor intended merely to feed the ego of HALL; however, based upon his past experience with the leaders of the world communist movement, these opinions strike CG 5824-S\* as an accurate reflection of their past attitudes.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.  
May 13, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

OPINIONS REGARDING POSITION IN  
WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT OF GUS  
HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST  
PARTY, USA

During April, 1966, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

In April, 1966, several leading members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) who are engaged in theoretical work and writings on Marxism-Leninism, expressed their opinions concerning the position of Gus Hall, General Secretary, CP, USA, in the ranks of communist theoreticians. In view of their positions, the source believes their opinions will reflect the attitude of the leadership of the Central Committee, CPSU.

One of those expressing his opinion of Hall was Alexander Sobolev, Executive Secretary of the "World Marxist Review," official theoretical organ of the international communist movement headquartered in Prague, Czechoslovakia. Although issued from Prague, Czechoslovakia, the editor in chief of the "World Marxist Review," G. P. Frantsov, is a candidate member of the Central Committee, CPSU, and the leading editorial positions of the magazine are occupied by members of the CPSU. Sobolev was quoted recently as stating in essence, "I would say that without doubt Gus Hall is one of the best Marxist theoreticians in the entire international communist movement. I would defy contradiction on this and would argue this position with anyone. He is making a definite

Attachments - Two

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declassification~~

100-428091-5556  
ENCLOSURE

OPINIONS REGARDING POSITION IN  
WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT OF GUS  
HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST  
PARTY, USA

~~TOP SECRET~~

contribution to Marxism-Leninism. Hall does not speak just for himself, but speaks for the entire world communist movement."

Also indicative of the high regard for Hall's abilities, was a recent admission by Timur Timofeev, Deputy Director of the Institute for World Economy and International Relations, USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow, USSR. Timofeev acknowledged that he had written an article refuting the position of the CP of China on revolution and the national liberation movement, especially as formulated by Marshal Lin Piao, a Deputy Premier and the Defense Minister of the People's Republic of China, in his article of September 3, 1965, published in major Chinese newspapers. Timofeev's article was prepared for publication in "Kommunist," the official theoretical and political organ of the Central Committee, CPSU. According to Timofeev, although he had not actually plagiarized to the extent of copying verbatim, the main ideas and theoretical content of his article had been lifted from two unsigned editorials appearing in the January and February, 1966 issues of "Political Affairs," the theoretical journal of the CP, USA. Timofeev stated that these two editorials were excellent and the CPSU leadership immediately recognized that although unsigned, these editorials were really Hall's contribution.

Attached hereto are the two editorials referred to above, which are entitled as follows: 1) "War and Revolution," "Political Affairs," January, 1966, Pages 1 - 12 & 34; 2) "National Liberation and the Anti-Imperialist Struggle," "Political Affairs," February, 1966, Pages 1 - 15.

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~~TOP SECRET~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/16/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

*Wen*  
*Shelton (cont)*  
*Cotter*  
*R. W. Smith*  
*J. G. ...*

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum captioned, "Wilfred Szesnesny (Phonetic), Communist Party of Canada Representative Assigned to the World Federation of Democratic Youth, Budapest, Hungary."

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was orally furnished by CG 5824-S\* during the period 4/25-29 and 5/12/66 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement thus adversely affecting the national security.

To further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D. C.

- 3-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

RWH:MDW  
(5)

*Letter to ...*  
*1-2-66*  
*NSM: PAH*  
*5/25/66*

*100-428091-5557*

EC 37 6 MAY 20 1966

EX-108

Approved: *[Signature]*  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

65 APR 27 1966

CG 134-46 Sub B

According to CG 5824-S\*, WILFRED SZEZNESNY (ph) had come to Prague, Czechoslovakia, specifically for the purpose of contacting a representative of the CP, USA. All other CP, USA delegates who were in or had passed through Prague ignored him and it was only CG 5824-S\* who finally gave this individual some limited time for discussion. The source noted that his meeting was brief because his stay in Prague was short and there were many other pressing matters that he had to handle.





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

May 16, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

WILFRED SZEZNESNY (PHONETIC), COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF CANADA REPRESENTATIVE ASSIGNED TO THE WORLD  
FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH, BUDAPEST,  
HUNGARY

In May, 1966, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

In mid-April, 1966, Wilfred Szeznesny (phonetic), the Communist Party (CP) of Canada representative assigned to the headquarters of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), Budapest, Hungary, was in Prague, Czechoslovakia. At this time, it was learned that Szeznesny plans to travel to Canada soon and will attend the 19th National Convention of the CP of Canada scheduled to be held in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, May 21 through 24, 1966.

At the time of his visit in Prague, Szeznesny indicated there was very little contact between the WFDY and the CP youth in the United States. He expressed a desire that during his forthcoming visit to Canada some Party youth representative could contact him in Toronto. He suggested that possibly Mike Zagarell, CP, USA National Youth Director, could be the individual to travel to Toronto.

Szeznesny further stated that there would be no World Youth Festival held in 1966 and that perhaps one may never be held again. He remarked that the socialist countries are no longer contributing towards the expenses of such a festival.

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100-428091-5557

ENCLOSURE

WILFRED SZEZNESNY (PH), CP OF CANADA  
REPRESENTATIVE ASSIGNED TO THE WFDY,  
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

~~TOP SECRET~~

In regard to contacts, Szeznesny requested that any CP, USA delegation or youth that might be traveling in Europe make contact with the WFDY in Budapest. He noted that it is especially important that there be contact with the CP, USA and the WFDY, particularly on important matters such as Vietnam.

Szeznesny also noted that the WFDY receives few publications printed by the left in the United States. They do not even receive on a regular basis such items as "Political Affairs," official theoretical organ of the CP, USA. He then requested that such publications and others like "The Insurgent" be sent regularly to the WFDY.

A documentation of the WFDY is attached hereto.

~~TOP SECRET~~

WILFRED SZEZNESNY (PH), CP OF CANADA  
REPRESENTATIVE ASSIGNED TO THE WFDY,  
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

~~TOP SECRET~~

WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

1. "The AYD (American Youth for Democracy) is affiliated with the World Federation of Democratic Youth, which was founded in London in November, 1945, by delegates from over 50 nations. \*\*\* From the outset the World Federation of Democratic Youth demonstrated that it was far more interested in serving as a pressure group in behalf of Soviet foreign policy than it was in the specific problems of international youth. \*\*\* So strong was the Communist domination at the London conference that it aroused the deepest concern of the English bishops." Also cited as one of the "long established Soviet-controlled international organizations" which "speak identical lines of propaganda and stand together on all phases of Soviet foreign policy" and which has "affiliated organizations in the United States, which consequently have also been turned into instruments in the 'peace' campaign."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 271 on the American Youth for Democracy, April 17, 1947, pp. 12 and 13; and House Report 378 on the Communist "Peace" Offensive, April 25, 1951, originally released April 1, 1951, p. 77.)

2. Cited as being among "international Communist fronts \*\*\* functioning at the present time."

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 93, also p. 59.)

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To further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memoranda have been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D. C.

According to the source, the comments regarding KWAME NKRUMAH and Ghana were made during discussions with representatives of the North and South American Section, International Department, Central Committee, CP of the Soviet Union, in 4/66.

In regard to the meeting with the Sudanese Union Party representatives, the source stated this meeting was held in Moscow, 4/11/66, and was brief in nature because the Sudanese Union Party delegation was returning in a few hours to their homeland.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
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Washington, D. C.

May 16, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

COMMENTS ON GHANA BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, APRIL,  
1966

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in April, 1966, advised as follows:

In April, 1966, representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) remarked that shortly after Kwame Nkrumah was ousted from his position as President of Ghana in late February, 1966, he was contacted by representatives of the Soviet Government. At this time, Nkrumah was offered all the aid he might need if he desired to do something about his ouster and the coup in Ghana. Nkrumah indicated at the time that he appreciated this gesture on the part of the Soviet Government but declined any assistance or aid at this time.

The question was also raised with Nkrumah as to whether the Soviet Government should retain a diplomatic establishment and staff in Ghana. In response to this, Nkrumah noted that it was most logical that the Soviet Union keep diplomatic personnel in Ghana and with the presence of such personnel and diplomatic representation in Ghana, it might be possible for the Soviet Union to exert some future influence on events in that country.

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ENCLOSURE

COMMENTS ON GHANA BY REPRESENTATIVES  
OF THE CPSU, APRIL, 1966 .

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In essence, then, the present recognition of the Soviet Government of the current regime in Ghana is, according to the CPSU representatives, not a formal one but a de facto recognition that a new government does exist in Ghana.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

May 16, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

MEETING OF SUDANESE UNION PARTY (MALI REPUBLIC)  
REPRESENTATIVES AND COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
REPRESENTATIVES, APRIL, 1966.

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in April, 1966, advised as follows:

Following the conclusion of the XXIII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) held March 29 through April 8, 1966, in Moscow, USSR, the fraternal delegations from the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) and the Sudanese Union Party (Mali Republic) held a brief meeting. The spokesmen for their respective Parties were Henry Winston, a Vice Chairman of the CP, USA, and Madeira Keita, a member of the National Politburo, Sudanese Union Party (Mali Republic).

As the meeting opened, Henry Winston extended an invitation to Keita and his Party to send a fraternal delegation and/or greetings to the forthcoming 18th National Convention of the CP, USA scheduled for June, 1966, in New York City, New York.

Madeira Keita then spoke briefly, and the essence of his remarks was as follows:

We have deep friendship and respect for the CP, USA, and wish to confirm our full support for civil rights and the equality of the Negro in America. We are against discrimination.

~~TOP SECRET  
(Group 1)~~

~~excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~



MEETING OF SUDANESE UNION PARTY (MALI  
REPUBLIC) REPRESENTATIVES AND CP, USA  
REPRESENTATIVES, APRIL, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

We greet the U.S. people in their fight against the war in Vietnam. Convey our greetings to them and let them know we support your people.

The African people have made great progress in recent years, but now the neo-colonial imperialists are trying to reverse things.

All people are brothers and we wish the American Negro success. Socialism will win at the end.

I will convey your greetings to my Party and we will try to attend your Convention.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

May 16, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

IB. NOERLUND, SECRETARY, CENTRAL COMMITTEE,  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF DENMARK

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in May, 1966, advised as follows:

Ib. Noerlund, a Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party (CP) of Denmark, attended the XXIII Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union held in Moscow, USSR, March 29 through April 8, 1966, as a fraternal delegate from his Party. Sometime prior to this Congress, Noerlund had traveled to South Vietnam where he had spent a period of time visiting in the field with representatives of the National Liberation Front (NLF) of South Vietnam. While in Vietnam he contracted some rare jungle disease which has required his hospitalization while in Vietnam and in the Soviet Union. At the time of the XXIII Congress, Noerlund still had not fully recovered and was a very sick man. As a result, he planned to remain after the Congress for additional medical treatment in the Soviet Union.

Because of the problems he had encountered during his own visit with the NLF of South Vietnam and because of the hardships which a foreigner must face in Vietnam, Noerlund was advising people whom he met not to travel to Vietnam.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET  
Group 1~~

~~excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

FD-264

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: 5/16/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

*6/20*  
*Shelley (lost)*  
*Phyllis*

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum captioned, "Position of Socialist Unity Party of Germany on Possible Dialog with Social Democratic Party of Federal Republic of Germany."

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was orally furnished by CG 5824-S\* on 4/25-29 and 5/16/66 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum has been classified ~~TOP SECRET~~ since unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement thus adversely affecting the national security.

To further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C.

- ③ Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

RWH:MDW  
(5)

MAY 20 1966

EX-108

*Let to state*  
*1-2-66*  
*NJM:PAH*  
*5/22/66*

*100-428091-555*

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

65 APR 31 1966

CG 134-46 Sub B

According to CG 5824-S\*, the meeting at which the discussions, which are referred to in the enclosed letter-head memorandum, were held occurred on 4/18/66 in Berlin, German Democratic Republic. Participating for the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and acting as chief spokesmen were LEO YOUNGBLOOD, person in charge of relations with CPs in capitalist countries for the International Department, Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and HEINZ BIRCH, the individual in charge of relations with the CP, USA and matters pertaining to the U.S. Participating as representatives of the CP, USA were the source and HYMAN LUMER.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

May 16, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~TOP SECRET~~

POSITION OF SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY  
ON POSSIBLE DIALOG WITH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC  
PARTY OF FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in May, 1966, advised as follows:

In April, 1966, a leading representative of the International Department, Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG), commented as follows on the subject of the SUPG and the bid for an open dialog between the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the SUPG. The essence of this individual's remarks was as follows:

The SPD is clever. They suggest a discussion of "humanitarian" issues like the wall, the shootings, etc. Even the place they suggest for the meeting, Hanover, is bad. We say that what they mention as the issues are not the real problems which we seek to solve. We say that the basic issue for discussion should be "what kind of a Germany do you want--an imperialist Germany or a democratic Germany." The SPD has gone to great lengths to avoid a strict, two-Party discussion, and they seek to invite the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and others. They are maneuvering in an effort to say we do not want to unite Germany.

But there is a split among the SPD. Some no longer refer to the German Democratic Republic (GDR) as "occupied" territory but now refer to it as "formerly occupied."

Then, too, there are those in the SPD who are beginning to recognize the dangers in the ties with Bonn and with Washington. The people are becoming worried about Vietnam and the war. The SPD can mobilize millions on the

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~Group 1~~

~~excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

100-428091-5559

ENCLOSURE

POSITION OF SUPG ON POSSIBLE  
DIALOG WITH SPD OF FEDERAL  
REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

~~TOP SECRET~~

issue of the "wall" but when it comes to the war in Vietnam, they cannot mobilize a hundred thousand.

There is also a growing opposition in the Federal Republic of Germany among the youth, intellectuals, and even the trade unions against the presently existing emergency laws. Workers are now beginning to feel their own strength.

Chancellor Ludwig Erhard's government has already suffered some defeats. The workers have refused his guidelines and are against the emergency laws. There is growing unity among the workers. Recently, a hundred thousand metal workers carried through a series of warning strikes and this was a defeat for Chancellor Erhard.

The West German trade unions are full of contradictions. They attack the GDR on the proposition of "self-determination" which is the same position as that held by Erhard. The trade unions are still anti-communist but at the same time they are also struggling against monopoly capital. In this latter regard, for the first time in history, the trade union movement is to the left of the SPD.

We, in the GDR, have been on the offensive since 1965. We have had great economic successes. Our leaders have made trips abroad; for example, the recent trip to the United Arab Republic. There is no longer talk in the West of the GDR's "collapse from hunger." The enemy fears that there is a growing consciousness on the part of the people that the GDR is a Government in a State. The old propaganda methods used by the West against the GDR are dead.

The proposed dialog with the SPD will also create some problems for us. We will have to prove to our people that what the SPD and others offer and call "basic" questions are merely emotional issues and not basic. The people in the GDR, especially members of our Party, are proud of our achievements.

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~~TOP SECRET~~

REC 17

EX-102

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/16/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

*Handwritten notes and signatures:*  
Sherrill (cont)  
Bancroft  
Blair  
Stamps

ReCGairtel 12/13/61 and enclosed informant's statement captioned, "Willie Hirsch, Also known as Dr. John Gilmore," and CGairtel 12/19/62 and enclosed letterhead memorandum captioned, "Willie Hirsch, Also known as John Gilmore." Do not cite

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum captioned, "Willie Hirsch, Also known as John Gilmore."

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was orally furnished by CG 5824-S\* during the period 4/25-29/66 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement thus adversely affecting the national security.

To further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C.

- 3-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
  - 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
  - 1-Chicago
- BWH:MDW  
(5)

REC 37

100-428091-5560

EX-108

6 MAY 20 1966

Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

05 JUN 6 1966

*Handwritten notes:*  
let to stat  
1-2-66  
NJM:pan  
5/26/66

*Handwritten notes:*  
TOP SECRET  
[Signature]

CG 134-46 Sub B

The matter regarding the response of the CP of the Soviet Union on the WILLIE HIRSCH matter, which is referred to in the enclosed letterhead memorandum, was relayed by the source to F. HALICEK, a member of the Central Committee, CP of Czechoslovakia, during discussions held with that individual in mid-4/66.





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

May 16, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

WILLIE HIRSCH  
ALSO KNOWN AS JOHN GILMORE

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in April, 1966, advised as follows:

During March, 1966, a representative of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) remarked that the wife and daughter of Willie Hirsch, also known as John Gilmore, have informed the CPCZ of a desire to return to the United States. Hirsch's wife and daughter, as United States citizens, have requested the assistance of the CPCZ in facilitating this return to the United States. At the same time, it was reported by this representative of the CPCZ that Willie Hirsch had been posthumously honored with a medal for the work he had done on behalf of the Soviet Union by the Russians.

In connection with this request of Hirsch's wife and daughter to return to the United States, the representative of the CPCZ requested that this be raised with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) by a representative of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA). This representative of the CPCZ noted that his Party had nothing to do with Hirsch and had only done the Russians a favor in allowing him to secure political asylum in their country.

In April, 1966, the matter regarding Hirsch's wife and daughter was taken up by a representative of the CP, USA with representatives of the CPSU. At the time, the CPSU refused to discuss this matter further and indicated that the Czech comrades were attempting to get the CPSU to assume all of the responsibility in the Hirsch matter and pay the fares for these individuals back to the United States. The

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~Group 1  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

100-428091-5560

ENCLOSURE

WILLIE HIRSCH  
ALSO KNOWN AS JOHN GILMORE

~~TOP SECRET~~

CPSU stated that the CPCZ should be told that the matter regarding Hirsch should be taken up officially on a direct Party-to-Party basis through channels utilizing the Soviet Embassy in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

The foregoing response of the CPSU was relayed to a representative of the CPCZ in mid-April, 1966, and no information is available at this time whether there has been further action concerning Hirsch's wife and daughter.

Willie Hirsch, also known as John Gilmore, and referred to above, was at one time in the custody of the United States Government on a charge of conspiring to commit espionage. These charges were subsequently dropped by the United States Government and in early 1961 Hirsch voluntarily left the United States and was granted political asylum in Czechoslovakia.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/16/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum captioned, "World Marxist Review, Official Theoretical Organ of the International Communist Movement, and Desire to Devote September, 1966, Issue to Problems and Conditions in the United States."

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was orally furnished by CG 5824-S\* during the period 4/25-29/66 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum has been classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement thus adversely affecting the national security.

To further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C.

- 1-904 940-1000 [unclear]
- ③-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

RWH:MDW  
(5)

REC 37 6 MAY 20 1966

EX-108

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

65 APR 27 1966

*let to state*  
*1-904 940-1000*  
*1-100-134637*  
*1-100-134637*  
*1-100-134637*

*Shelley (cont)*  
*Costa*

*al*

*100-428091-5561*

*SEC.*



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

May 16, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

"WORLD MARXIST REVIEW," OFFICIAL THEORETICAL ORGAN  
OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, AND DESIRE  
TO DEVOTE SEPTEMBER, 1966, ISSUE TO PROBLEMS AND  
CONDITIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

A source, who has furnished reliable information  
in the past, in April, 1966, advised as follows:

The "World Marxist Review," official theoretical  
organ of the international communist movement which head-  
quarters in Prague, Czechoslovakia, desires again to devote,  
as had been done last year, a major portion of one of its  
forthcoming issues to articles dealing with problems and  
conditions in the United States. The edition of the "World  
Marxist Review" for which they desire such articles be  
prepared is the September, 1966, issue. The "World Marxist  
Review" requests that Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) repre-  
sentatives prepare such articles. The topics on which  
articles are desired by the "World Marxist Review", together  
with suggested author, if any, were as follows:

"The Peace Movement in the  
United States".....Gus Hall, General  
Secretary, CP, USA

"War and the United States  
Economy".....Hyman Lumer, Editor,  
"Political Affairs,"  
theoretical organ of  
the CP, USA

"The Upsurge of United States  
Youth"

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~Group 1  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

100-428091-5561  
ENCLOSURE

"WORLD MARXIST REVIEW," OFFICIAL THEORETICAL  
ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT,  
AND DESIRE TO DEVOTE SEPTEMBER, 1966, ISSUE TO  
PROBLEMS AND CONDITIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

~~TOP SECRET~~

"Present Stage of Development in  
the Civil Rights Struggle in the  
United States"

"Ideological Trends in the United  
States".....Herbert Aptheker

"New Developments in Labor Unions  
in the United States"

This document contains neither recommendations nor  
conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the  
FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its con-  
tents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

ENCLOSURES TO BUREAU (14)

14 mimeographed documents which had  
been furnished to CG 5824-S\* on 4/4/66  
by MEIR VILNER

Bureau 100-428091  
Chicago 134-46 Sub B

100-428091-5562

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL — CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Tel-Aviv-Yafo ○ P.O.B. 1843 ○ Cables: Komunparty Telavivyafa ○ Phone 58269 / 0

הכפלה הקומוניסטית הישראלית  
הוועד המרכזי  
الحزب الشيوعي الاسرائيلي  
اللجنة المركزية

March, 20th, 1966.

Dear Comrades,

We feel it necessary to call your attention to the "Palestine Resolution" adopted at the Tri-Continental Solidarity Conference in Havana, held in January 1966.

Among other things, the resolution defines "Israel as such" as "a threat to world peace and security and an obstacle to development and progress in the area". It is not our intention to enter into a pointed argument with the absurd formulations and definitions which characterize the resolution as a whole, but merely to emphasize the term "Israel as such", that is, the total and absolute negation of Israel regardless of what class is in power, what kind of regime exists, what kind of policy it adopts. According to the resolution "Israel as such" is "a Zionist colony" - and Zionism is equated with imperialism, aggression, racism, and fascism. The resolution distinctly condemns "the existence of Israel in the conquered part of Palestine". This paragraph has only one meaning - the negation of Israel's right of existence and, following, the negation of the right of the people of Israel to national independence. In this manner the "Palestine resolution" determines that the principle upon which the Solodarity Conference is based, the principle of the right of every people to national independence, does not apply to the people of Israel. By adopting such a resolution the Solidarity Conference has adopted a position of discrimination against one of the most persecuted peoples in the world and has banished it from among the peoples of the world. This, it appears, is the reason why the organisers of the Conference refused to invite anti-imperialist forces from Israel to take part in the Conference despite their request to receive an invitation.

In another paragraph the "Palestine Resolution" incites the Palestine Arabs to open a war against Israel; otherwise there is no point of talking of "the right of the Palestinians to liberate their country" as "the right of self-defense". Here too the Palestine Resolution contradicts another basic principle of the Solodarity Conference, the principle of peace.

It is perhaps worthwhile to mention that the entire conception of Israel as "the conquest" of part of Palestine is fundamentally false: Israel was established in accordance with a decision of the United Nations on November 29, 1947 with the support of the progressive forces in the world, led by the Soviet Union. Moreover, it was Israel that was attacked on the day of its establishment, May 14, 1948, by the armies of the Arab League under the direction of British imperialism. The State of Israel now exists on territory delineated in the truce agreements which were signed by the Arab countries; according to these agreements the truce borders are to remain in force until the signing of a peace settlement with the Arab countries in which permanent and peace borders will be delineated.

The entire spirit of the "Palestine Resolution" is one which breeds Israel-Arab hatred and intensifies the conflict between the two peoples. It is an aid to imperialism which seeks to exploit divisions among peoples in order to interfere and dominate the Middle East.

For all these reasons we want to express our sharp protest against "The Palestine Resolution" adopted at the Solidarity Conference: it is contrary to historic truth, to the principle of the equality of peoples, to the principle of the right of all peoples to national independence, to the principle of the solidarity of the peoples of three continents in the struggle against imperialism.

We note with satisfaction that the Soviet delegation to the Havana Conference expressed opposition to the "Palestine Resolution" and did not vote for it. But the sad fact is that a number of progressive anti-imperialist and even communist forces did vote for it, and there is little doubt that they understood the fraudulence and harm of the resolution; nevertheless they helped in its adoption, giving in - opportunistically - to the pressures of Arab chauvinism.

We are forced to regard the "Palestine Resolution" of the Havana Conference with utmost severity. The same applies to additional references in the spirit of this resolution which appear in other documents of the Conference. For similar things happened in previous conferences of world democratic bodies.

At the Youth and Students' Forum in Sept. 1964, for example, a resolution on the unity of fighting youth was adopted in which the first part is devoted to "a condemnation of the establishment of the puppet-state of Israel". It is interesting to note that Israel is the only state condemned for its very establishment, that is, for its very existence. It is interesting further to note that only the fifth paragraph of this same resolution at the Forum condemns Apartheid in South Africa, whereas the sixth condemns fascism in Spain and Portugal. Is there really any Communist party in the world which would sign such a document? The fact is that there were representatives of many communist parties taking part in the Forum.

This is not a unique occurrence. The Executive of the World Federation of Democratic Youth at its meeting in Accra in April 1965 adopted a resolution in which it voices support for "the struggle of youth and people in the Middle East". However, it added, - in the wording of the resolution, a specification of the geographical term "middle East": the Arab countries, Turkey and Iran". Thus the executive decided to exclude the youth and the peoples of Israel from the youth and people of the M.E. in general, or in other words, they emphasize that the Executive does not support the struggle of the youth and people of Israel for those same common goals such as full economic and political independence, democracy and progress, preservation of world peace and peaceful co-existence. If this is not ostracism of the youth and people of Israel, what else is it, And there are certainly authorized comrades of the communist parties in the Executive of the WFDY.



We cannot believe that this is their sincere opinion. But we can understand that they acted contrary to communist principles and certainly contrary to their own conscience under the pressure of Arab chauvinism which threatens to disrupt the unity of world democratic organisations unless their anti-Israel hostility is satisfied.

These are only a few examples among many. You are certainly aware that democratic and communist Israel youth was excluded from the preparations for and invitations to the World Youth Festival which was to take place in Algeria. It should be mentioned that this ban was to apply to that same youth which had fought in Israel for solidarity with the FLN during all the years of its heroic war, had organised demonstrations against the French Embassy, battled with the police and gone to jail.

Similar unfairness to the people of Israel and even to the progressive forces in Israel was evident - to our great sorrow - even at conferences of the World Peace Movement and the World Federation of Trade Unions.

When the head of the "Palestine Liberation Organisation" Ahmed Shukeiry, visited Peking, the Chinese leaders issued a statement calling for a war against Israel. The leader of another socialist country signed a joint statement with the President of the U.A.R. in which they condemned - in complete contradiction to historic truth - the establishment of the State of Israel at the alleged initiative of imperialism.

Indeed, we have before us a systematic, persistent and broadening attack on the right of the people of Israel to independent national existence and a violation of its national honour. We stress this is not an attack on the rulers of Israel and on their pro-imperialist policies. It is an attack on the very existence of Israel "as such" and on the people of Israel in general without any regard for political and class differences. We are aware, as we have said, that the source of this regrettable display is the pressure of Arab chauvinism, but we are not prepared to reconcile ourselves to this pressure on the part of any democratic force, especially a communist force.

We certainly admire and take into consideration the anti-imperialist and progressive aspects of the Arab national movement and we support them completely. But - as Lenin taught us - while we support the positive sides we see a necessity in fighting against the regressive and chauvinistic tendencies in every national movement, including the Arab national movement.

We also highly evaluate the growing ties between the Arab national movement and the anti-imperialist world movement on the basis of the principles of progress and in the name of the goals of progress. Still in all, the encouragement of these ties cannot sanction the infection of the anti-imperialist movement with the germs of Arab chauvinism.

The Israel Communist Party has fought for a peaceful solution to the Arab-Israel conflict on the basis of a mutual agreement based on mutual recognition of the just national rights of both peoples. In accordance with this principled position, we have demanded of the government of Israel to recognize the right of the Arab refugees to return to their homeland or receive compensation. But support of the just national rights of the Palesinian refugees does not mean support of the denial of the rights of the people of Israel! In general - one cannot repair the wrongs done to one people by wronging another.

The Israel Communist Party is conducting a consistent and courageous campaign against the existing regime in order to bring about a change in Israel policy in the direction of peace, an end to its dependence on imperialism, neutrality, democracy and social progress. But we cannot remain silent when forces in our own world camp,

*in the progressive camp, distort the image of Israel society in general and malign the entire Israel people.*

*Together with other progressive forces in our country, the Israel Communist Party is struggling for an orientation of Israel policy on the international anti-imperialist camp. But the malignment of Israel by anti-imperialist conferences or bodies obstructs our attempts to gain broader circles in support of an alternate orientation and plays into the hands of the pro-imperialist line of the ruling circles.*

*We are not of the opinion that the correction of these fore-mentioned mistakes is the task of the Israel Communist Party alone. We think that a common effort of all communist parties is called for in order to assure proper direction of the anti-imperialist movement in its broadest scope as well as to prevent the penetration of anti-Israel chauvinistic influences within its conferences and official bodies.*

*We would appreciate it if you would discuss this letter and forward to us at early date your opinions and conclusions.*

*With comradely greetings,*

*Communist Party of I S R A E L  
Central Committee*

*S. Mikunis,  
Secretary General.*

Internal

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL AND THE MIKUNIS-SNEH GROUP

The split in the Communist Party of Israel is often depicted by the Mikunis-Sneh group as a split between the Jewish and the Arab members of the Communist Party of Israel, as if the Arab members of the Party "detached" themselves from their Jewish comrades..., and as if they (Mikunis-Sneh group) are the Communist Party of Israel, Nothing as far from the reality. We, as internationalists, recoil from this kind of prying into the national origins of Party members. But, in order to give a rebuttal to such an unfounded claim we shall give a true and accurate picture of the real state of affairs.

The Mikunis-Sneh faction constituted a minority in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel (8:11) and minority, too, in the Party as a whole (40%:60%).

On two occasions, elections were held to choose delegates to the 15th Party Congress; the first time, to the Congress it was scheduled to convene in June 1965 (but was postponed at the last minute, to avoid a split) and the second time, to the Congress set for August 1965. The first elections took place in the framework of Party cells and the second elections, in Party branches. The Mikunis-Sneh group found itself in a minority in both these elections to the 15th Congress. Refusing to abide by the Party's verdict, they did not agree to holding a united Congress.

Party branches elected 545 delegates with voting rights and 19 delegates in consultative capacity, to the 15th Congress of C.P. of Israel, scheduled for August 1965. In addition to these elected delegates, 41 other comrades (members and alternate members of the Central Committee, the Central Control Commission and the Secretariat of the Young Communist League) were to attend the Congress, in accordance with a decision of the Central Committee and as laid down by Party Rules. Of the above number, 175 fully-fledged elected delegates, 22 fully-fledged delegates designated by the Central Committee and 19 delegates elected in a consultative capacity, participated at the 15th Party Congress in Jaffa in August 1965. Thus, the Congress of our Jewish-Arab Communist Party was attended by a majority of the delegates chosen, while the majority among Party membership was even greater (60%) - the method of electing delegates by Party branches failing to give an accurate reflection of this fact.

General elections to the Knesset (Israel's Parliament) and the Municipal Councils held in November 1965, gave the following results:

The Mikunis-Sneh List managed to get only one candidate elected to the Knesset (S. Mikunis) with 13,617 votes, while our Communist Party List succeeded in sending three members to the Knesset (M. Vilner, P. Toubi and E. Habibi) with 27,415 votes. In the outgoing Knesset, before the split, the Communist parliamentary group numbered 5 Knesset Members, so that, in general, the elections brought us a setback. The Party also succeeded in seating representatives on 14 Municipal and Local Councils, while the Mikunis-Sneh group failed to obtain representation on even a single municipal or local council.

Just recently (March 15th) elections were held to the Teachers Union. Refusing to preserve a united Communist list, the Mikunis-Sneh group preferred going it alone at these elections. Their list received 147 votes (0.77%), while ours was backed by 251 votes (1.2%). In all, the split caused us the loss of 1% of the votes obtained by the Party list four years ago.

Far from representing the Communist Party of Israel, of which S. Mikunis used to be General Secretary, the Mikunis-Sneh group is a minority faction, that defied the majority of the Central Committee, of the Party, and of the supporters of the Communist Party of Israel.

In the face of the much publicized rumours that the split in the Party was a Jewish-Arab split, we found ourselves obliged to give the following information, although we detest this talk about Communist national affiliation. As for our present Party's national composition, nearly forty per cent of Jewish members in the united Party, remained in the Party and did not join the Mikunis-Sneh group. Out of the 11 Central Committee majority existing prior to the split, 6 were Jewish comrades. Out of the majority of four in the Political Bureau before the split, two were Jews. In the Secretariat of the Central Committee, prior to split, 5 members (4 Jews and 1 Arab) out of 6 members (the 6<sup>th</sup> being S. Mikunis) remained in the leadership of the Party.

The national composition of Party bodies elected at the 15th Congress in August 1965, is as follows:

Members of the Central Committee, out of 14 members - 10 Jewish comrades;

Members of the Central Control Commission, out of 5 members - 4 Jewish comrades;

Alternate members of the Central Committee, out of 5 members - 3 Jewish comrades;

Members of the Political Bureau, out of 7 members - 4 Jewish comrades;

Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, out of 5 members - 3 Jewish comrades.

The Party publishes the following organs:

"ZU HADEREKH" - Hebrew language weekly

"AL-IFTIHAD" - Arabic (twice in a week)

"DER WEG" - Yiddish (fortnightly) as well as weeklies in Bulgarian and Rumanian.

The Party guarded, like the apple of its eye, its internationalist and patriotic policy as well as its Jewish-Arab unity and will continue to protect them vigilantly.

SOME NOTES ON THE POSITIONS OF MIKUNIS-SNEH GROUP CONCERNING  
THE SPLIT IN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN ISRAEL

The split which took place in the ranks of the Communist Party of Israel in August 1965 was a blow and a setback to the Communist movement in our country, to the working people of Israel, to all Jewish and Arab democratic forces, that had looked with respect and hope upon our Communist Party of Israel, its policy and struggle.

There is no doubt that the split also added fresh difficulties to the World Communist Movement, struggling for unity within its ranks.

The split that occurred in the Communist Movement in Israel was a source of disappointment to the fraternal Communist Parties, who held in high esteem the Communist Party of Israel, its internationalist and patriotic policy and - most important of all - the unity of Jewish and Arab Communists within its ranks. The policy of the Communist Party of Israel was always highly appreciated and deeply valued by the fraternal Parties.

What was precisely held in high esteem and respect by the politically conscious sections of the Israeli working class and people and by the fraternal Communist Parties - that is, the Party's internationalist policy and the international unity of the Jewish and Arab Communists - was considered by the Mikunis-Sneh group, a "burden"..., a "hindrance"..., a "brake" to the development of the Party.

M. Sneh declared, in the speech he made at the Congress of his group, that "... we have to mend our ways. This Congress constitutes a basic correction and a supreme act of self-criticism on the part of the Communist Party of Israel..." ("Kol Ha'am", 12.8.65)

The Communist Party of Israel had very different valuation about its general line, its present policy as well as its past policies and activities. The pre-Congress theses, unanimously adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel on the eve of its 15th Congress, before the split occurred, stressed the following:

"The entire course of events has proved, on the one hand the bankruptcy of the policy pursued by the ruling circles these past 17 years as well as its inability to solve any of the key problems facing the State of Israel - first and foremost, that of Israeli-Arab peace and Israel's integration in the Middle East - AND, ON THE OTHER, THE CORRECTNESS OF THE PATRIOTIC PATH AND POLICY PURSUED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL."

On the eve of the split, S. Mikunis declared in the meetings of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee that "the old C.P. of Israel is dead". He described the Congress of his group as a "congress of rejuvenation, recovery and renewal" ("Kol Ha'am", 8.8.65), Esther Vilenska went as far as to call it a "congress of springtime", while M. Sneh termed it the "congress of the turning-point".

In the first propaganda leaflet issued after their congress, the Mikunis-Sneh group boasted that, at their congress held on August 4-7, they had purged their ranks of Arab nationalists and of Jewish nihilists who are indifferent to the fate of Israel... In his closing speech at his Congress, S. Mikunis boasted of having cleaned the C.P. of Israel of "those who are more extremist than Cairo."

On 20.8.65, M. Sneh wrote in "Kol Ha'am" that, "now that the C.P. of Israel has ridden itself of those who had a deviation toward Arab nationalism and Jewish national nihilism, all working people will know they can rely on the Party to defend not only class interests, but also national interests."

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The Mikunis-Sneh group have put all kinds of labels on their new course ... "a course of uniting Communism with the Israeli working people"... "defending Israel's national interests in the face of Arab chauvinism"... "creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the conditions of our people" (i.e. the Jewish people). The reality, however, is that they have adopted a revisionist, opportunist, Jewish nationalist line, a liquidationalist line in relations with the social-democratic parties, a nationalist and pro-official line with respect to Israeli-Arab relations, the Jewish question, and Israel.

On 8.12.1965 Knesset Member M. Vilner asked that the following motion be put on the Knesset's agenda:

STOP THE MILITARY ORIENTATION AT THE DIMONA NUCLEAR PLANT!

We suggest the Knesset debate a question liable to be fraught with fateful consequences for our entire future.

The "Davar" issue of 21.11.1965 carried very prominently the results of a report drawn up by the London Institute of Strategic Studies, under the title: "The Dimona nuclear plant has the capacity to produce one atom bomb per year." "Davar" quoted this piece of information from the above-mentioned review. It is a matter of grave concern that the paper which is closest to the government, published the conclusions of the British report as to the possibility of turning out atom bombs at the Dimona plant, as something perfectly obvious, and with a tone of satisfaction at the fact that the British Institute of Strategic Studies is fully aware of that capability.

"Davar" cites additional data from the above report indicating that the rate of military expenditure in Israel is the highest in the world, amounting to 10.7% of the gross national product.

We may assume that the Dimona plant accounts for a substantial part of these sums.

The economic burden is clear as day light. More than one tax increase, more than one price rise are connected with the expenses incurred in running the Dimona nuclear reactor. We can imagine how many schools, hospitals and housing estates could have been built were it not for the existence of such heavy expenses.

The problem, however, is not purely economic or even mainly economic. The State of Israel, like all other sovereign states, has the right to ensure its national defense. But in our eyes - and many, in Israel and abroad, agree with us - the development of nuclear weapons in Israel is an extremely dangerous step, precisely from the point of view of Israel's national security. The military orientation in atomic activity carried out at Dimona is liable to prove its gravity precisely from this standpoint.

It is no mere accident that most of the members of the Government's Atomic Energy Commission, distinguished Israeli scientists, resigned from this post at the time of Ben-Gurion's premiership. The reason for their resignation was apparently the refusal to lend a hand to this dangerous orientation given nuclear activity at Dimona, out of concern for the standing and the future of the State of Israel. The dispute between Israel and the Arab states can be solved by peaceful means alone and by honouring the rights of the peoples concerned. Any reckless idea of settling the dispute by force of arms must be rejected.

If realized, Israel's equipment with atomic weapons could turn into a national catastrophe, in the full acceptation of the term, for our people and our country, bring about a qualitative deterioration of relations between Israel and the Arab states, and most seriously impair the prospects for a peace settlement, so desired by our people.

Such a turn of events might completely undo Israel's position among the peoples of Asia and Africa and cause indignation on the part of many states on all continents. Among these are the socialist states who are

struggling to avert the spread of nuclear weapons and prevent a third world war. Just recently the U.N. commission has adopted a resolution on the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons and the conversion of Africa into an atom-free zone.

Nuclear arms will not bring us added security, but the intensification of tension and the total breakdown of security.

Under the conditions obtaining in our area, and under present international conditions, the country that launches an atomic arms race in our area will not be able to preserve its monopoly, as proved by the missile race. It will be the signal for an atomic arms race in the Middle East whose consequences no one can foresee.

The State of Israel is the one most interested in averting an atomic arms race in our area. As a small country Israel cannot even imagine the eventuality of a nuclear conflict. Our people stand only to gain from the denuclearization of our area. It is up to the Knesset to initiate such a step. Were the Knesset to pass such a resolution it would bring Israel but respect, strengthen her international standing and help to decrease tension.

The interests of Israel's security therefore, dictate that she make efforts aimed at the nuclear disarmament of the area and not at launching a nuclear arms race. Atomic weapons must not be found in the hands of either Israel or the Arab states. That is the common interest of the peoples. That is what the well-being and security of all require.

This problem has another aspect, too.

The West German ruling circles let it be known at the time that they, also have a hand in financing nuclear research in Israel. This revelation, too, is disquieting.

These very days, the rulers of West Germany and her generals - a great many of whom are unrepentant Nazis - are trying hard to obtain atomic weapons. West German scientists in the service of the Bonn government are using every opportunity, outside West Germany, too, in order to advance in this field. Bonn statesmen shuttle back and forth between Washington, London and Paris, to get the "green light" signal for nuclear arms. Who can understand better than us that nuclear weapons in the hands of Hitler's successors will gravely step up international tension and increase the danger of war.

Our proposal is that the Knesset debate, in plenary session, the review published by the London Institute of Strategic Studies concerning the nuclear activity at the Dimona plant, in order that, after its debate the Knesset adopt the following resolutions:

- 1) Cessation of the military-orientation in the work of the Dimona nuclear reactor;
- 2) Support for the signing of an international convention for the nuclear disarmament of the Middle East;
- 3) Severance of all ties with West Germany in the field of nuclear research.



4) Expression of strong protest against equipping West Germany with atomic weapons in any shape or form.

Honoured Knesset,

The subject we suggest for debate is of such principled importance that it is totally inappropriate to leave decision making on this matter within the power of the Government or of any commission. We suggest this issue be threshed out by the Knesset in plenary session.

#### THE VOTING IN THE KNESSET

Knesset Member M. Vilner's motion (for a full-scale Knesset debate on the publications of the London Institute of Strategic Studies relative to the possibility of producing one atom bomb per year at Dimona) was rejected by <sup>the</sup> votes of the coalition parties and "Gakhal". The motion received the votes of three members of the Communist group, Knesset Members S. Mikunis and U. Avneri. The Mapam group abstained on the contention that the British data are unofficial. Mapam Knesset Member R. Arzi declared from the Knesset rostrum that Mapam favours, in principle, an Israeli initiative to turn the area into an atom-free zone.

M. SNEH: "ISRAEL'S WAR OF INDEPENDENCE IS STILL ON" -  
AGAINST NONE OTHER THAN THE ARABS

"As long as there exist in the world chauvinistic elements who challenge Israel's right of existence, Israel War of Independence continues" said M. Sneh in a speech in Jerusalem, as prominently reported by "Davar" and other newspapers last Friday. It is a factworthy of mention that the reactionary Press played up this speech of M. Sneh's.

And we had been thoroughly convinced that Israel's War of Independence had been fought against British imperialism and its agents. Up to now we had always thought that war was over and done with, and that the task, now was, to fight for Israel's withdrawal from imperialism's enslaving political and economic influence, the attainment of Israeli-Arab peace on just basis, for acknowledgment of the legitimate national rights of the people of Israel and the Palestinian Arab people; for a stepping-up of the struggle to change official Israeli policy to one of independence, peace, and democracy; for recognition of the rights of the Palestinian Arab people, while Israel's rulers, by their chauvinistic hostility to that people's right and the services they render to imperialist machinations do damage to Israel's national interests.

Now, however, less than a year after the "turning-point" be effected when he split the Communist Party of Israel, M. Sneh proclaims the following:

1. Israel's War of Independence is still on;
2. This "War of Independence" is directed not against imperialism, but against Arab chauvinism.

The Communists, as is known, call for the formation of the broadest possible national front to wage a war of independence. Obviously L. Eshkol and his government are taking part in this "War of Independence" against the Arabs, proclaimed by M. Sneh. And, if this idea be followed to its logical conclusion, there is no reason why Ben-Gurion and his clique, Begin and his followers, should not participate in this war. Quite the contrary; it is they precisely who are its knights and initiators.

Was it with a view to setting up this "national front", on the basis of the assumption that "we are all in the same boat", that the reactionary press gave such favourable coverage to the above-mentioned speech by M. Sneh?

SHORT NOTES ON THE SPLIT IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

OUR INITIAL POSTULATE: RENEWING THE UNITY OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN ISRAEL ON A CORRECT AND FIRM POLITICAL BASIS

1. All along, we were in favour of the movement's unity

Despite the profound political differences of opinion there was no objective reason to justify the split.

The split is a crime towards the C.P. of Israel, the working class and the people of Israel, toward the cause of Israeli-Arab peace, toward the international Communist movement, including that in the Arab countries, and, in general, toward the cause of peace and socialism.

The only ones to gain from the split were the forces of reaction and imperialism and various nationalist elements.

2. What did we do to avert the split?

The comrades are aware of the efforts we deployed to avert the split:

- a) Of our own free will, we gave up our majority on the Central Committee and its bodies in order to direct the Party in an agreed manner;
- B) We initiated an agreement (with the Soviet delegation) on the postponement of the 15th Congress till December and on a united stand in the election campaign. This agreement was broken by the other side,
- c) After we had had forced on us (by the Mikunis-Sneh faction - trans.) and early date for the convening of the 15th Congress even before the elections for Congress delegates were under way - in order to get the upper hand in the points at dispute (on the theory, which proved false, that they would get a majority of Congress delegates), we warned against the consequences and put forward the following proposals in order to save Party unity:
  - a. to Convene a Congress that would limit itself to endorsing the joint pre-Congress theses.
  - b. to have this Congress elect a parity-based Central Committee.

Both these proposals were rejected as being "undemocratic" and "conducive to paralysis".

It is no accident that we accepted the CPSU's suggestion to send a joint delegation.

"BOTH SIDES TALK OF THE DAMAGE CAUSED BY THE SPLIT"

At his party's national convention (a meeting of representatives of party branches and districts, not to be confused with a party congress - trans.) MIKUNIS stated ("Kol Ha'am", 26.9.65) "HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR THE DECISIVE TURNING-POINT WHICH OCCURRED AT THE CONGRESS, THE C.P. OF ISRAEL WOULD HAVE RECEIVED LESS VOTES AT THESE ELECTIONS.

"The C.P. of Israel is quantitatively weaker as a result of the split, but its qualitative and moral strength have grown immeasurably. Thousands of working people will find the path to us, WHEN THEY REALIZE THAT THE C.P. OF ISRAEL IS ISRAELI IN ESSENCE AND NOT ONLY IN NAME."

Hence the following conclusions:

1. The split was a real last-minute act of salvation;

2. Till now, prior to their Congress with its decisive turning-point, the C.P. of Israel had been Israeli only in name.

Presenting things in this light destroys the comrades' morale, constituting as it does a repudiation of 17 years of activity and the policy of the Party "which took the wrong path".

"The old C.P. of Israel is dead!"

"The Party has been cleaned out!"

The reasons for the split - political and organizational.

An attempt was made to alter Party policy, to push through a "radical change" by obtaining a majority in the Party and, after this had failed, by causing a split. The split took place before the general elections (to the Knesset and local authorities - trans.) the declared aim being to succeed at these elections - but these calculations misfired.

"ZU HADEREKH" - 24.2.1966

KNESSET MEMBER EMILE HABIBI IN THE KNESSET:

"THE NATANYA HOOLIGANS ARE NOT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE"

Attacks on Arab workers in Natanya carried out by incited hooligans in the midday hours of January 31st troubled public opinion in our country which aspires to ties of brotherhood and companionship between the citizens of the State - Jews and Arabs.

A great disservice was rendered by certain newspapers who tried to make out that the events in Natanya were devoid of all significance and alleged that spontaneous and widespread protests by the inhabitants of the village of Taibeh and Kalansawa were superfluous and were, supposedly, the outcome of planned incitation by Arab nationalists.

At Natanya no one was run over by a car (a reference to the Ramleh anti-Arab riots sparked off by an Arab taxidriver's knocking down a Jewish child - trans.). A minor personal quarrel very soon developed into an all-round attack on workers and other passer-by. The false rumour was spread that Arabs had killed a Jew. Incited hooligans began taking Arab inhabitants out of taxis and beating them up. Attacks were also carried out against Arab workers waiting in a queue at the bus station.

The taxidrivers set upon, sought help from the police. The police were late in coming. The attacks continued, on an even larger scale. The Arab inhabitants then started fleeing in panic from Natanya and returned to their villages.

Inhabitants of the villages of Taibeh and Kalansawa went out in large numbers to the nearest police station and, quite rightly, demanded that the police intervene to put a stop to these attacks.

Incited and irresponsible persons appeared in Taibeh and Kalansawa; they tried to inflame the atmosphere and divert the demonstration toward Natanya. Our Communist comrades and other responsible democratic persons in both villages thwarted this attempt. These, then, were the so-called "nationalist elements" on whom certain newspapers tried to pin the guilt, in order to be able to continue their shameful justification of the policy of national discrimination, with all its foreseeable and unforeseeable consequences.

The inhabitants of Taibeh and Kalansawa demonstrated by the thousands and afterwards went out on strike. This strike was not aimed against their brothers, the Jewish workers, and all the attempts to discredit their just protest will fail. They protested against the negligence shown by the police during the Natanya incidents. They know the police well for being very agile, very active and very firm when its actions are directed against Arab citizens.

The inhabitants of Taibeh and Kalansawa protested against the government's policy of national discrimination, which inevitably breeds results of this kind.

The workers of Taibeh and Kalansawa, like the workers of the other villages of the Triangle, are renowned for their proletarian upbringing. Their Jewish brother-workers know them, work together with them and together they fight against their common exploiters. When, last year, Ramat-Gan municipal workers went out on strike, the Ramat-Gan Municipality tried to mobilize strikebreakers in the villages of the Triangle but failed to find

even a single Arab worker willing to steal the bread of his comrade, the Jewish worker.

Workers of Haifa Bay enterprises went out on strike together this Monday, in brotherhood and solidarity, against the rising cost of living and for a boost in salaries.

We have the fullest confidence in the Jewish working class and its proletarian ethics, which have not degenerated at all. The Jewish people's bitter experience clearly points to the extremely dangerous consequences inherent in national hate-propaganda and attacks on a national basis.

There is no hope of success for the attempts to discredit the Jewish people and to depict it before the Arab inhabitants in the shape of excited hooligans in Natanya. Those who, with remarkably well organized spontaneity, demonstrated last Saturday in Natanya against the entry of Arabs into the town, do not represent the true face of the Jewish brother-people, but those who, on the very same Saturday, found the road to Kalansawa and Taibeh barred by the police. This was a police combat operation which has no other explanation but the police's fear of a broadening and deepening of Jewish-Arab brotherhood.

While the Government did not take the necessary steps to stop the beating-up of Arab inhabitants in Natanya, the police lost no time and arrested 14 villagers from Taibeh and Kalansawa, following the protest demonstrations. The police kept them in jail for 7-8 days, and charged them with disturbing the public order. Last Saturday, the day the "Ha'olam Haze" organized their Jewish-Arab brotherhood motorcade, the police concentrated some 1,000 of their men in Taibeh and Kalansawa, while hundreds of other police swept down on the "Ha'olam Haze" motorcade. The police is quite able to call up hundreds of policemen to prevent Jews from mingling with Arabs under the banners of brotherhood and friendship, but displays slackness in stopping hooligan attacks on Arab workers.

We must remember that unemployment is increasing and there are evil forces who will try (as happened a few years ago) to incite Jewish workers against their Arab fellow-workers, so as to divert their just struggle from its correct path.

Ties of brotherhood between Jews and Arabs in the State of Israel are the firm foundation for the splendid future of peace and understanding with the Arab peoples. It is the duty of all Knesset members to prevent anything happening that might perturb these relations.

There was a day, 9 years ago when all the members of the Knesset stood up to honour the memory of innocent victims (a reference to the Kfar Kassem massacre on the eve of the Sinai war, 29.10.1956, when 47 villagers returning home after the imposition of a curfew they had not been informed of, were killed by members of Israel's Border Police - trans.) I hope that this tragedy will not repeat itself in the future. What we must therefore do now is not stand to attention but stand guard and watch over the ties of brotherhood and understanding between the citizens of the State, Jews and Arabs.

I appeal to the Knesset to hold a debate on the Natanya incidents and what followed, police behaviour and the just demands to end the official policy of national discrimination.

THE MIKUNIS-SNEH GROUP SPLIT THE DEMOCRATIC TEACHERS GROUP

The elections to the 22nd Congress of the Teachers Union are slated for March 15th.

The Democratic Teachers group in the Teachers Union, which united Jewish and Arab teachers from all over the country on the basis of a progressive platform, was on the point of preparing itself for the oncoming election campaign and issuing the group's platform with its analysis of the country's pedagogical and educational problems as well of the questions facing the teaching profession and the ways to solve them.

While the platform was being drafted, it transpired that the teachers belonging to the Mikunis-Sneh faction, with half (2 out of 4) the members of the Democratic Teachers group, were making strenuous efforts to split the group. All efforts failed to dissuade them from splitting the group and make them respect the needs of the teachers' struggle. They rushed to proclaim, from the pages of "Kol Ha'am", that the Democratic Teachers group had, in fact, split. They also took advantage of the fact that D. Peter was the group's representative at the Teachers Centre to arbitrarily assume the name of the group, and in this they were helped by Teachers Union bodies.

OVER WHAT ISSUE DID THEY SPLIT?

Instead of accepting the former platform as a basis for the elaboration of the platform for the coming elections, the Mikunis-Sneh faction presented, in the form of an ultimatum, demands for a new platform, their intention clearly being to split the group.

And this is how they suggested framing the following paragraph in the platform:

"educating Jewish youth to reject Jewish nationalism and respect the rights of the Arab national minority; educating Arab youth to reject Arab nationalism and respect the State of Israel and its rights."

All members of the group's directing committee were ready to accept the above formula providing a sentence were added, on the need to also respect the rights of the Palestinian Arab people, side by side with respect of the State of Israel and of its rights. The demand to show respect for one's own people without honouring the rights of the other people concerned is nothing but chauvinism. The members of the Mikunis-Sneh faction defiantly refused to include any mention of respect for the rights of the Palestinian Arab people. Can one imagine a democratic platform of teachers in Israel, calling for education to inculcate respect for the rights of only one of the two peoples in question and that under conditions when the government and the directors of official education bring youth in the spirit of negation of the rights of the Palestinian Arab people and even its very existence, which certainly does not contribute to educating the people to peoples' brotherhood and Israeli-Arab peace.

The Mikunis-Sneh faction further proposed the following paragraph:

"in favour of an Israeli initiative for an Israeli-Arab peace based on reciprocal recognition of the legitimate national rights of both peoples and against the hostile campaign to disqualify Israel's right to exist."

This draft, too, is glaringly biased and chauvinistic. After all, we have here a platform meant for teachers in the State of Israel whose rulers conduct a policy of negating the rights of the other side, the Palestinian Arab people, and educate the people in that same spirit, in contradiction with Israel's true national interests and with the cause of peace. That is why the other two members of the directing committee of the Democratic Teachers group suggested, as a supplement to the draft quoted above the following words: "and against the hostile campaign to deny the existence of the Palestinian Arab people" or, alternatively, "and in favour of Israel's acknowledgment of the Palestinian Arab people's national rights."

The members of the Mikunis-Sneh faction insisted on the adoption of their own draft at all costs, thus blocking agreement.

In an apparent effort to ensure beyond doubt the group's split in the event of an agreement on the text of the platform, the Mikunis-Sneh faction laid out a claim to an absolute majority in the list of candidates put up by the Democratic group (6 out of 6), even though everyone knows that the majority of those who back and vote for the Democratic Teachers list are not supporters of theirs.

That is the story of how the Mikunis-Sneh faction split the Democratic Teachers group created at the price of so much toil and the overcoming of innumerable obstacles.

We learn from our correspondent that what is called the "List of Democratic Teachers" is henceforth exclusively a sectarian list of the Mikunis-Sneh faction. As against this, the democratic Jewish and Arab teachers are organizing the "Hakidma" ("Progress" in Hebrew - trans.) list which represent in the most faithful manner possible, the interests of the Jewish and Arab members of the teaching profession. Teachers are now being canvassed in order to collect the number of signatures needed to qualify the list for the elections.

Every progressive teacher, every teacher endowed with a conscience, loyal to the interests of education and the teaching profession, peace and democracy, patriotism and peoples' brotherhood will give his vote to the "Hakidma" list at the elections to the 22nd congress of the Teachers Union.

("Zu Haderekh", 24.2.1966)



"KOL HA'AM - 26.9.65

A TRIP TO THE CHILDREN'S KINGDOM

as told by Tsafi Klorman to "Kol Ha'am" correspondent  
Yehuda Lahav

In autumn 1965, a party of young Israeli Pioneers spent a few weeks at the famous Soviet Artek Children's Camp in the Crimea, on the shores of the Black Sea. The following passage was the only one "Kol Ha'am" saw fit to devote to the Israeli children's encounters with Arab delegations:

"... relations with the Arab delegations are a painful chapter. The Moroccan instructor, apart from his above-mentioned speech at the anti-fascist evening (when he claimed Israel was a new variety of fascism - trans.), contented himself with the absence of any ties whatsoever with the Israelis. As for the Tunisian instructor - whose delegation arrived at Artek just two days before the Israelis left - he exchanged greetings and polite phrases with the Israeli girl instructor, whenever instructors from the other Arab delegations were not present.

The most extreme were the Egyptian instructors. They refused to travel in the same bus as the Israelis. They insisted on the Israelis' not being invited to the gala concert held in celebration of Egypt's National Day. A ridiculous incident occurred during a game of volleyball. An Israeli boy hit the ball and it rolled off the court. The Egyptian instructor spit on the ball seven times, wiped it with a handkerchief and only then did he allow the game to go on."...

"THE PATH TO ISRAELI-ARAB PEACE"

A symposium held at the "Tzavta" club, Haifa.

PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENCE, NOT ATTACK

M. Sneh was of the opinion that our (Israeli - trans.) policy should take into account the existence of these various attitudes (adopted toward Israel by the various Arab states - trans.) and bolster the one most favourable to the cause of peace. In as far as there are breaches in the Arab wall, we should widen them, strengthen those forces that have adopted a stand favourable to us and bring the problem down to one of conducting negotiations on peace conditions. As concerns the threat of wiping out and annihilating the State of Israel, there is only one possible answer: defense readiness, a potential which willy-nilly, we may be forced to apply, but we must reject the idea of any advance attack or preventive war. The speaker called for a rebuff to Nasserist propaganda, depicting Israel as a creature of colonialism.

Israel - said M. Sneh - must agree to discussing the fate of the refugees on the basis of U.N. resolutions in this matter - in other words, return to their homeland or financial compensation. It is obviously impossible to discuss this subject without previously thrashing out the question of the economic absorption of some of the refugees. Appropriate conditions must be created to this end by carrying out a development programme, for which a regional irrigation plan is a sine qua non condition. This, in turn, hinges on a solution being found for Middle Eastern water problems, and agreed to by all the peoples of the area.

WHAT WE MUST DO IS TO COME OUT WITH A BIG DEVELOPMENT PLAN; EVEN IF IT WILL NOT RECEIVED THE BACKING OF A SINGLE ARAB STATE, THERE WILL NOT BE A SINGLE WORLD POWER THAT WILL FAIL TO SUPPORT US AND THE PRESSURE AROUND THE REFUGEES ISSUE NOW AIMED AT US, WILL THEN TURN AGAINST THE ARAB STATES.

"AL HAMISHMAR" - 24.1.1966

THE MIKUNIS-SNEH GROUP BREAKS OFF TALKS ON THE FORMATION OF

A JOINT DELEGATION

From our correspondent

As already reported by us in the "Zu Haderekh" issue of 10.3.1966, comrade M. Vilner sent a letter to S. Mikunis on March 1st inst., suggesting a meeting to organize a joint delegation of the Israeli Communists to the 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U., in conformity with its invitation and draw up a joint message of greetings.

In the wake of this initiative Political Bureau member W. Ehrlich and M. Sneh met twice. The first meeting, which took place on 10.3.66, was marked by an initial exchange of ideas on the content of the joint message of greetings. No particular differences of opinion came to light. M. Sneh proposed that at the Congress, S. Mikunis be the one to read out the text of the message, on behalf of the delegation. Comrade W. Ehrlich stated that he considered this unacceptable. It was decided that, after consultations with Party bodies, a second meeting would take place, at which the two sides would draft proposals for the message of greetings.

At this second meeting, on 20.3.66, comrade W. Ehrlich brought the complete text of a draft message. M. Sneh had no concrete proposal whatsoever for a message of greetings but said that, for the time being, he had no special remarks to make on the text of the message put forward by comrade W. Ehrlich. On the same occasion comrade W. Ehrlich officially announced to M. Sneh that agreement was not forthcoming for S. Mikunis to be the delegation's spokesman at the Congress, but this need not be an obstacle to the organization of a joint delegation and the drafting of a joint message of greetings. M. Sneh stated that he would bring the content of this second meeting, too, to the knowledge of his Party bodies, with a view to holding a third meeting.

On Tuesday, 22.3.66, M. Sneh telephoned comrade W. Ehrlich to tell him he (M. Sneh) saw no sense in holding an additional meeting, since all matters connected with the despatch of a joint delegation form one complete inseparable entity and as there was no agreement on his proposal to name S. Mikunis as the delegation's spokesman, he therefore, saw no room for the formation of a joint delegation and the framing of a joint message of greetings.

Our correspondent learns that comrades M. Vilner and E. Habibi will pursue the effort to ensure a joint delegation and a joint message of greetings, despite the negative reply given by the Sneh-Mikunis group.

It is clear from the above that the reports leaked to newspapers and published by them are at variance with the truth and the real state of affairs, their aim being to smear our Communist Party and torpedo the organization of a joint delegation.

## TOWARD A TASHKENT OF OUR OWN

by Wolf Ehrlich

Just a few weeks have elapsed since that historic day of 10.1.1966, when representatives of two states, India and Pakistan, signed - in the presence of Soviet Premier A. Kosygin - the Tashkent Declaration and in that short time the name Tashkent has already come to symbolize the solution of international problems by peaceful means and negotiated agreements. The spirit of Tashkent has become a powerful force, reassuring the world's peoples that there also exists the possibility of preventing war and of resolving complex problems through negotiations. THE TASHKENT SPIRIT HAS BECOME A NORM OF INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOUR, in the words of A. Dadulia, Counsellor of the Soviet Embassy in Israel, at a lecture he gave last week in Jerusalem.

India and Pakistan undertook, in accordance with the Tashkent declaration, to make every possible effort to maintain goodneighbourly relations; they agreed no longer to resort to force and settle their disputes by peaceful means according to the principles laid down by the United Nations. They took it upon themselves to withdraw their armed forces to the positions they held before fighting broke out, refrain from carrying out hostile propaganda and renew their economic and cultural ties. These decisions are being put into effect in accordance with the timetable drawn up at Tashkent.

The high appreciation both sides have for the Soviet Union is stressed in the Declaration itself as well as in the speeches made by Indian and Pakistani statesmen. It was thanks to the USSR's putting her good offices at the disposal of the parties concerned, the wise and effective work put in by A. Kosygin and the favourable atmosphere in the Uzbek capital, that an agreement was reached. This was in contradiction to the prophecies of the bourgeois Press, the wishes of the imperialist powers and the pressure these powers put on India and Pakistan.

The dispute between India and Pakistan was one of the most difficult and involved problems plaguing the world, one of the dangerous focal-points of the war danger. In the second half of 1965, when fighting flared up along the border separating these two states, this dispute proved that peace is jeopardized by the failure to solve international problems. In the first days of 1966, with the signing of the Tashkent Declaration, this same dispute proved that, today, there does exist the possibility of finding a peaceful solution even to complex problems, under certain conditions and given goodwill on the part of both sides.

### REACTION IN ISRAEL

The question arose at once as to the possible application to other international disputes and other involved problems: is it not possible to try and settle them, too, in the spirit of Tashkent? Many peoples who live in the shadow of strife and who aspire to a life of peace, would like to resolve their problems in the same manner, by translating the spirit of Tashkent into their own language.

In our country, too, this same question arose. The Israeli people, too, have been living for the past 18 years in the shadow created by the failure to solve the Palestinian problem and the Israeli-Arab dispute. Our people, who long for a life of peace, received with the greatest sympathy the news of the Tashkent accords, not only because a hearth of war had been put out in our continent, Asia, but also because these

accords afforded a ray of hope for the problems besetting our people.

Government representatives had to give expression to our people's feelings. Prime Minister Levi Eshkol spoke favourably of the Tashkent agreement, in the course of the speech he made while presenting his new government. Appreciation for the Tashkent conference was also voiced by Foreign Minister A. Eban, on the eve of his departure for a tour of Western capitals. At a luncheon with foreign correspondents in Tel-Aviv (24.1.66) A. Eban said in this connection:

"THE LESSON THIS AGREEMENT HOLDS FOR US IS THAT A DIRECT DIALOGUE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND HER NEIGHBOURS, BY THEMSELVES OR WITH THE HELP OF ANOTHER PARTY, COULD PROMOTE THE CAUSE OF PEACE. A NEW SPIRIT HAS COME TO REIGN IN THE WORLD AND WITH IT UNDERSTANDING OF THE NECESSITY TO MAINTAIN AND DEFEND THE STATUS QUO AND ABSTAIN FROM THE USE OF FORCE TO SETTLE TERRITORIAL AND OTHER DISPUTES."

Abba Eban took up this subject again, in various forms, during his trip to Paris, Washington, Ottawa and London. He stressed once more the need to preserve and protect the Middle Eastern status quo and asked the big powers to support the existing political and territorial structure in the area. In one of his speeches, Abba Eban hinted that, in the case of the Israeli-Arab dispute, the party that would promote the negotiations did not necessarily have to be the Soviet Union and, it might even be said, precisely the Soviet Union was excluded from this role.

#### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TASHKENT CONFERENCE

We cannot determine whether A. Eban was right in referring to the spirit of Tashkent unless we define the characteristics of the Tashkent conference and the factors that made for its success.

The main feature characteristic of the conference was the desire of both sides to arrive at an agreement and a solution, even partial one, of the problems at stake between them. There was nothing vague or abstract about this desire which took the form of a willingness to understand the stand of the opposite side and go halfway toward it, by agreeing on practical measures.

The second typical feature was the fact that the conference took place on Soviet soil and with the aid of Soviet statesmen. The political line aimed at ensuring peace is a component part of Soviet policy. What is more, the Soviet Union and the fight for peace are inextricably bound up together. This policy has characterized the USSR from the very first days of its existence. What is so special now is that the Soviet Union's power has grown immeasurably, while the prestige and experience she has stored up enable her to assume an active role in assisting the peaceful solution of the kind of problem that came up at Tashkent.

The third characteristic feature was the fact that Indian and Pakistani representatives came to the Uzbek capital and hammered out a joint declaration in opposition to the imperialist powers' interest to incite and sow dissension, and against their wishes and desire. And although Pakistan has not yet severed its ties with the imperialists, the very fact it agreed to go to Tashkent was an explicit anti-imperialist act. Its leaders realized that if you want to attack another country you have to go to the United States but if you want peace you must go to the Soviet Union.

An analysis of the characteristic features of the Tashkent conference reveals the crying contradiction between Eban's tour and the statements he makes in the course of that tour. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs talks about Tashkent but travels in the opposite direction. He doesn't understand that the term Tashkent means not merely sitting together but sitting together to strive for peace, with the assistance of the Soviet Union's policy of peace, in opposition to the wishes and the interests of the enemies of peace. The fact that Eban's first act on being appointed Foreign Minister, was to make a trip to the capitals of France, the U.S., Canada, and Great Britain underscores the Israeli rulers' orientation on the imperialist powers. This tour obviously had very practical objectives - political, economic and military - but still it was mainly a well-laid and clear demonstration of general policy.

The imperialist powers have an important stake in perpetuating the Israeli-Arab dispute. The USSR has an important interest in liquidating it and in solving the problem by peaceful means. That is why, objectively speaking, this trip of the Foreign Minister's is a display of opposition to Israeli-Arab peace despite all the high-sounding words about the spirit of Tashkent.

#### THE SPECIFIC NATURE OF THE ISRAELI- ARAB DISPUTE

There is something else to it, however. The Indo-Pakistani dispute differs greatly from that between Israel and the Arab states. A specific feature of the Israeli-Arab dispute - and one that is absent from the Indo-Pakistani dispute - is that Israel does not acknowledge the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people and that the Arab states do not recognize Israel. This fact, together with the whole question of the connection between the Palestinian problem and the Israeli-Arab dispute, makes our problem a much more tangled and intricate one.

I have already stressed that an agreement that accords with the spirit of Tashkent has one salient feature and that is the sincere desire to arrive at an agreement, understand the other side and meet him halfway.

The Tashkent wind will blow here when the Israeli Government displays readiness to recognize the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people which, in its turn, will lead to the Arab states' recognizing the State of Israel and its rights.

When Abba Eban states, not just once, that his goal is to preserve the status quo in the Middle East, he lets us understand that it is his intention not to reverse present policy on the Palestinian issue, that he has no intention of acknowledging the rights of the other party to the dispute and that he deludes himself or else wants to delude others, into thinking that it is possible to attain Israeli-Arab peace on the basis of what he calls the status quo.

This insistence provides fresh evidence that Israel's rulers do not have the sincere desire to solve the Palestinian problem and pave the way to peace. That being so, these declarations of Eban's contradict the spirit of Tashkent.

\*

In the Israeli-Arab dispute, too, there is a real prospect of reaching a solution in accordance with the Tashkent spirit. The road is not an easy one but it does exist. It will be a great day for our people when Israel will take the high road - that of Tashkent.

TRANSLATIONS  
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EDITORIAL "KOL HA'AM" - 1.12.1965

VISITS TO CAIRO

The joint Polish-Egyptian communique, which appeared in yesterday's issue of our paper, contains a number of paragraphs of importance to the cause of peace and of peoples' independence. The mere fact of the broadening of ties between the "Third World" - the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America - on the one hand, and the socialist states, on the other, constitutes an auxiliary factor in the struggle against imperialism and against the danger of war, which imperialism carries with it, as well as being a factor that strengthens the positive, progressive aspects in the policy of the neutralist states, of which the U.A.R. is one. That is why we, together with partisans of peace and progress the world over, give the full appreciation it deserves to the visit made by Edward Ochab, President of the Polish People's Republic. In our time there is no country in the world capable of attaining complete economic and political independence unless it enlarges and tightens its ties with the world socialist system, while, on the other hand, these same ties strengthen the camp of socialist states in its fight for world peace and for the national and social liberation of the peoples. Great importance is therefore to be attached to the broadening of mutual ties between Socialist Poland and the U.A.R. in the fields of commerce, technical know-how, culture and art.

The meaning of the common positions in the Ochab-Nasser declaration on international problems is perfectly clear. The declaration contains support for the cause of peaceful coexistence and general disarmament, as well as including clauses on the following subjects: non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the creation of denuclearized zones; consolidation of the United Nations, observance of the U.N. Charter, restoration of the rights of People's China at the U.N.; the peoples' struggle against racialism in Rhodesia, against colonialism in Angola, Mozambique, Southern Arabia etc, etc.

On all these points, the significance and the importance of the visit made by the President of People's Poland are similar to those of the trip made just a few days earlier by the Prime Minister of People's Bulgaria. On one point, however, there is a basic difference in the results of these two visits, as evidenced by the joint declarations, and this difference touches on the Palestinian problem. President Ochab signed together with President Nasser a condemnation of imperialist policy in the Middle East and an affirmation of support for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people in accordance with the U.N. Charter, and this can be fully endorsed by all progressive persons the world over. As against this, the joint communique issued by Bulgarian Premier Todor Zhivkov and the U.A.R. President includes a paragraph condemning the "imperialist and racist policy of Zionism in Palestine". Any intelligent person understands that whenever the Arab rulers are unable to obtain a direct disqualification of Israel, they do their best to introduce the ideological term "Zionism" as a substitute for the political term "Israel", and that in the present case, too, the real aim is not Zionism but the State of Israel. Despite all our opposition to the political line pursued by the Israeli Government, we are obliged to note that the above version is not only factually incorrect and unjust, but also entirely superfluous from the point of view of the need for closer links between the socialist and the Arab states, as the Ochab-Nasser communique well proves. The U.A.R. President would obviously have been very glad to have also obtained the Polish President's signature on a condemnation of Israel, but as soon as he realized that this wish would not be granted him, Nasser signed together with him a joint communique even though it had no anti-Israeli clause.

This above all should be kept in mind: in order to achieve progress in the peaceful solution of the Israeli-Arab dispute, international influence must be brought to bear on both parties to the dispute, - the rulers of Israel and of the Arab countries - aimed at achieving recognition of the rights of the other side, and at the very least, moderation, caution and restraint towards the opposite side.



DEPUTY M. VILNER'S SPEECH IN THE KNESSET  
16.5.1966 ON THE NON-CONFIDENCE OF MOTION OF RIGHT-WING  
GAKHAL AND RAFI

We, the members of the Communist group, believe that the statement published in the paper "Le Monde" in the name of Foreign Minister Abba Eban is correct and hits the nail on the head.

"THEY DREAM OF ANNEXING JORDAN..." \*

What exactly was published? It was written that "Ben-Gurion's disciples" astonished public opinion by their uncompromising stand on security matters, in the style of 'to the bitter end'; as for M. Begin (head of the "Herut"-Liberal Bloc) he symbolizes the irridentism of those who dream of annexing Jordan..."

These are true words, indeed, as everyone knows. Why did the Foreign Minister have to apologize and split hairs in such a protracted speech, to prove what is known to all in Israel and abroad? In my opinion, the Minister for Foreign Affairs revealed nothing new with regard to Ben-Gurion and Begin.

After all, didn't "Rafi" (Ben-Gurion's "Israel Labour List" - trans.) and "Gakhal" (Right-wing bourgeois "Herut"-Liberal Bloc - trans.) confirm these accusations from this very rostrum? Member of the Knesset Begin even voiced pride at his being accused of striving for the 'reunification of the homeland'. "Herut" officially claims a return to the historical borders "Two banks has the Jordan river - this one is ours, the other one, too". That is to say, he is in favour of territorial expansion at the slightest opportunity or, in other words, in favour of military adventurism. I ask you, members of "Rafi" and "Gakhal", what are you so surprised when they (those parties' spokesmen - trans.) speak that way? After all, isn't that is your policy?

A voice from the benches: That's your interpretation.

Meir Vilner: In the past you gave your support to every conceivable act of military adventurism.

THE POLICY OF "RAFI"

What is the exact meaning of the charges levelled at "Rafi"? Your Honour, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, hair-splitting is a very good thing but it doesn't always appear reasonable. Your accusations were, in actual fact, accusations - correct accusations, in our view - against Ben-Gurion's various governments and their policies, from "Kibya (first 'reprisal raid', carried out in September 1953 against a Jordanian village and involving a large number of civilian casualties - trans.) to the Sinai-Suez adventure, with its extremely grave threat to the State of Israel - all of which made Israeli-Arab peace many more years remote. A great part of the responsibility for the absence of peace rests on the policy pursued by the Ben-Gurion governments. The Foreign Minister's statement to "Le Monde" only goes to confirm this.

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\* Subheadings by "Zu Haderekh"

HAS THE ESHKOL GOVERNMENT VOICED REPENTANCE?

Does the declaration made to the "Le Monde" correspondent by Abba Eban, mean that the newly formed government expresses repentance and regret over the Sinai war of 1956, waged by the Ben-Gurion government in collusion with the French and British governments? Can we interpret Mr Eban's declaration as a disavowal of the extension of Israel's borders which took place during the Sinai war and of the declaration made to the Knesset by the then Prime Minister, Mr David Ben-Gurion on the "establishment of the Third Kingdom of Israel"? If that is how the Minister for Foreign Affairs would have construed his statement to "Le Monde", we would have welcomed such an act and viewed it as an important step and a turning-point in Israeli policy, toward a real policy of peace in deeds and not words alone. TO OUR GREAT REGRET, THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAW FIT TO DECLARE HERE TODAY THAT, IF THERE IS SUCH A BODY AS THE SUEZ GROUP, THEN HE BELONGS TO IT. THAT IS HIGHLY REGRETTABLE, SINCE WE LOOKED FORWARD TO WHAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAD TO SAY, AND THESE WORDS OF HIS SPOILT THE WHOLE SHOW.

CONTRADICTIONARY STATEMENTS

Although Mr Eban contradicts himself, his statement vindicates, in practice, the left-wing opposition and, first and foremost, we Communists, who throughout the years have alerted and warned that the Ben-Gurion governments were governments bent on military adventures and territorial expansion at the slightest opportunity. Conclusions should have been drawn, with the purpose of changing policy, taking the initiative and real steps toward Israeli-Arab peace. WE WOULD HAVE WELCOMED A GOVERNMENTAL REVISION OF POLICY IN THIS DIRECTION. We will, unfortunately, have to abstain on the vote today because this statement (Mr Eban's - trans.) has not obtained the clarification demanded by our people's national interests.

May the Foreign Minister's criticism of the right-wing opposition be also taken to mean a retraction of the Prime Minister's (Eshkol's) statement to the very same newspaper "Le Monde", to the effect that only 20% of the homeland's territory actually lies in Israeli hands?

A voice from the "Herut" benches: Hear, hear!

M. Vilner: It can be said in conclusion that the Foreign Minister's charges against Ben-Gurion and Begin are perfectly true.

THE TROUBLE IS THAT, IN ITS BASIC LINES, THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT'S POLICY IS A CONTINUATION OF THE OLD POLICY, EVEN THOUGH IN A DIFFERENT FORM, MORE APPROPRIATE TO THE IDEAS CURRENT TODAY, WITH THEIR ABHORRENCE OF THE MILITARY ADVENTURISM PREVALENT DURING THE PERIOD OF THE BEN-GURION GOVERNMENTS. Today, too, government policy leans on the policy pursued by the Western powers against the peoples of the area. Today, as before, this policy refuses to recognize the other side, the Palestinian Arab people and its very existence. The government maintains the policy of opposing nuclear disarmament of the Middle East, goes on with military oriented research at the Dimona nuclear plant and continues to stoke the fires of the arms race. It also continues the policy of linking close ties with West Germany. Incidentally, today, March 16th, is the first anniversary of the declaration made from the Knesset rostrum by Prime Minister Levi Eshkol, on the government's agreement to the establishment of diplomatic relations with West Germany.

THE WAY TO A "TASHKENT" IN OUR AREA

On February 16th, in this very hall of the Knesset, the Prime Minister declared that, in case of need, the government can decide on violations of the Armistice agreements, in matters more important than the celebration of Independence Day and the Independence Day parade. We also remember the extensive aerial bombardment of Syrian territory in connection with the dispute over the Jordan waters, carried out by the Eshkol government and criticized by many. Thus we see that the basic general lines of policy are still in force.

We view favourably the declarations made by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs concerning the "spirit of Tashkent" and reject the attitude of S. Peres with his fear of peace, even talk of peace. The Foreign Minister was quite right in saying that Knesset members Peres and Begin are concerned and afraid the moment the word "peace" is pronounced, even though the government takes no real initiative toward peace. For the declaration on support for the "Tashkent spirit" to be valid and have a real basis in Israeli policy, the very first necessity (if you want negotiations) is to recognize the other party to negotiations. One of the parties is the State of Israel, the people of Israel; the other is the other people of Palestine, the Palestinian Arab people. This people, like the Israeli people, has a right to self-determination. The refugees, too, have their rights. WHAT WAS DECIDED AT TASHKENT WAS NOT MAINTENANCE OF THE STATUS QUO; THE TASHKENT CONFERENCE RESOLVED TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS BY PEACEFUL MEANS, THROUGH NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT, WITH EACH PARTY RECOGNIZING THE VERY EXISTENCE AND THE RIGHTS OF THE OTHER SIDE. There is one point left in dispute and it is the subject of negotiations. If Israeli policy is to dovetail in with the trend toward peace at work in the Middle East and in the world as a whole - in the Foreign Minister's words - the need is for a radical change in Israeli policy. This will not be done by praising to the skies the combined Suez-Sinal operation, which was a war of aggression contrary to Israeli national interests causing, to this very day, grave damage to Israel's standing in the world and to the chances of advancing the cause of Israeli-Arab peace. Nor will we further our interests and dovetail in with the peace trend by opposing the Middle East's conversion into an atom-free zone or by conducting feverish negotiations with Hitler's successors in West Germany.

A BASIC REVERSAL OF POLICY - A VITAL NEED FOR ISRAEL

Our parliamentary group will encourage and back any step forward in Israeli policy toward peace, toward a change in the direction of a peace initiative, acknowledgment of the rights of the opposite side, cessation of the arms race, neutralism in foreign policy, improved relations with the Soviet Union, and, above all, abstention from any military adventures and violations of the Armistice agreements. It is clear the government has not drawn these conclusions. WE ARE READY, TOGETHER WITH ALL FORCES OF THE PEOPLE, TO REPEL THE EXTREMIST ADVENTURISM OF THE "RAFI" AND "GAKHAL" PARTIES. TOGETHER WITH THIS, WE REALIZE THAT CONTINUATION OF THE FORMER GOVERNMENTS' BASIC POLICY LINES HAS AS ITS ONLY EFFECT TO ENCOURAGE, IN PRACTICE, THE ACTIVITIES OF "GAKHAL" AND "RAFI". THEIR POLICY MUST BE ISOLATED BUT IT CANNOT BE DONE BY CONTINUING IT IN A Milder FORM BUT BY RADICALLY ALTERING IT.

We, like all the people of Israel, stand guard over the independence, sovereignty and security of the State of Israel. But, in the long run, these noble objectives will be realized only by a reversal of official policy, when a government will be formed that will carry out, in practice, a policy of peace, discard the entire existing attitude with regard to the

Israeli-Arab peace, pursue a policy, not of alliance with the Western powers, but of neutralism, and conduct a policy of equal national rights inside the State of Israel.

We are convinced that, from this point of view, the Minister for Foreign Affairs made a correct, if incomplete, allusion: the overwhelming majority of our people voted at the last elections for the trend toward peace, negotiations and agreement, and we may say they voted in favour of the "spirit of Tashkent", even before it came into force between India and Pakistan. The way to attain and achieve this goal in practice is not to support the policy of "Gakhal" and "Rafi" or continue the old line in a more moderate form, but to fight for a change of policy. Such a change would give the State of Israel impetus, respect, and power.

SAC, Chicago (194-46 Sub B)

May 31, 1966

Director, FBI (100-428091) - 5563

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

SOLO  
IS-C

REGISTERED MAIL

airtel

Attached is the translation which you requested by ~~XXXXXX~~  
dated 5/17/66.

*Wan...*  
*AT...*

The contents thereof, where pertinent, must be reported  
under appropriate captions and afforded whatever investigative  
attention is necessary.

MAILED 27  
MAY 31 1966  
COMM-FBI

Disposition of the foreign language material submitted in  
this connection is set forth below:

Returned herewith.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Wick \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

1 - New York (100-134637) - Enclosures (2)

1 - Mr. Sullivan (Attn: Nationalities Intelligence Section), sent direct  
with enclosures (2)

RAV:pbs (7)

Enc (8)

ENCLOSURE

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

JUN 2 1966

*[Handwritten initials]*

TRANSLATION FROM PORTUGUESE

Brazil, October 1965

To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States

Dear Comrades:

With great dismay we learned of the passing away of comrade Robert Thompson, a veteran of World War II, a leader of your Party and a militant worker known throughout the world communist movement.

The Brazilian communists admired Robert Thompson as a heroic struggler against Nazi-Fascism in Spain, and subsequently, in World War II. They also admired his steadfastness in the struggle against domestic reaction in the United States, his activities in the leadership of the communist party, his fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and his proletarian internationalism.

Dear comrades, we extend our deeply-felt sympathy and the assurance of our solidarity.

With fraternal regards

(Signed) Luiz Carlos Prestes  
Secretary General  
On behalf of the Central  
Committee of the Brazilian  
Communist Party

---

The envelope is addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States of America.

TRANSLATED BY:  
RAFFAELE A. VACCARI:pbs  
May 26, 1966

ENCLOSURE

100-428011-5563

TRANSLATION FROM PORTUGUESE

The envelope is addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States of America.

Brazil, February 1966

To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States

Dear Comrades:

It is our duty to inform you that the Central Committee of our Party, at a recently held plenary meeting, paid solemn tribute to the memories of comrades Victor J. Jerome and Robert Thompson, whose lives as militant communists were remembered and exalted.

With fraternal regards,

(Signed) Luiz Carlos Prestes  
On behalf of the Central Committee  
of the Brazilian Communist Party

TRANSLATED BY:

[Redacted]

pbs

May 26, 1966

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5563

b6  
b7c

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/17/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
Attn: FBI Laboratory

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

*Handwritten:* 5  
J. Edgar Hoover (last)

SOLO  
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau is one Xerox copy each of two documents in the Portuguese language. These documents were furnished to SAs RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE on 5/12/66 by CG 5824-S\* who advised that he had received them in Moscow, USSR, during the course of the 20th Solo Mission from (FNU) MOLAVIA (ph), a fraternal delegate from the Brazilian CP to the 23rd Congress, CP of the Soviet Union. According to the source, these documents are letters of condolence to the CP, USA, from the Brazilian CP on the deaths of CP, USA members ROBERT THOMPSON and V. J. JEROME.

*Handwritten:* al

The FBI Laboratory is requested to prepare translations of the enclosed documents and furnish copies thereof to Chicago and New York.

1-904 910  
4-Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)  
1-Chicago

100-423091-5563

WAB:MDW  
(6)

*Handwritten:* Chicago  
New York - Enc.  
(returned)

REC-26

6 MAY 23 1966

Approved: [Signature] Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge



REC 702

FBI

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE Date: 5/17/66

Transmit the following in (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL (Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
SUBJECT: SOLO IS-C

Handwritten signatures and initials: 'Shiff' and 'M. J. ...'

Re Chicago airtel dated 5/6/66, enclosing a letterhead memorandum entitled "Report of Meir Vilner, Secretary of Political Bureau, Communist Party of Israel (Pro-Arab Group), Dealing With Internal Situation in Communist Party of Israel."

On 5/12/66 CG 5824-S\* furnished to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN 14 mimeographed documents which had been furnished to him on 4/4/66 by MEIR VILNER during the course of their meeting in Moscow, USSR. These documents were furnished in support of the statements VILNER made to the Communist Party, USA delegation.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau and New York is one copy each of the 14 documents which are identified as follows:

- 1) Letter dated 3/20/66, signed by S. MIKUNIS, Secretary of the Communist Party of Israel
2) The Communist Party of Israel and the Mikunis-Sneh Group

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 14) (RM)
1 - New York (100-134637) (Encls. 14) (RM)
1 - Chicago

6 MAY 23 1966

WAB/mes (5)

Vertical handwritten notes on the left margin: 'No dissemination necessary', 'att his number date', 'No prior only disseminate summary of data', 'No dissemination necessary', 'Copies in 904'

Approved: [Signature] Special Agent in Charge Sent M Per

65 JUN 6 1966

CG 134-46 Sub B

- 3) Some Notes on the Positions of Mikunis-Sneh Group Concerning the Split in the Communist Movement in Israel
- 4) Stop the Military Orientation at the Dimona Nuclear Plant!
- 5) M. Sneh: "Israel's War of Independence is Still On" - Against None Other Than the Arabs
- 6) Short Notes on the Split in the Communist Party of Israel
- 7) Knesset Member Emile Habibi in the Knesset: "The Natanya Hooligans are Not Representative of the Jewish People"
- 8) The Mikunis-Sneh Group Split the Democratic Teachers Group
- 9) A Trip to the Children's Kingdom
- 10) "The Path to Israeli-Arab Peace"
- 11) The Mikunis-Sneh Group Breaks Off Talks on the Formation of a Joint Delegation
- 12) Toward a Tashkent of Our Own
- 13) Visits to Cairo
- 14) Deputy M. Vilner's Speech in the Knesset 16.3.1966 on the Non-Confidence of Motion of Right-Wing Gakhai and Rafi

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: 5/17/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

REC-7

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies each and for the New York Office one copy each of the following captioned letterhead memoranda:

- 1) "Grace Gardos, United States Citizen, Residing Budapest, Hungary"
- 2) "Communist Party of Venezuela"
- 3) "Confidential Mailing Address for Brazilian Communist Party"

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memoranda was orally furnished by CG 5824-S\* on 4/25, 27-29; 5/16/66 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed letterhead memoranda have been classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement thus adversely affecting the national security.

1-904 94D  
 3-Bureau (Enc. 12) (RM)  
 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 3) (Info) (RM)  
 1-Chicago  
 RWH:MDW  
 (5)

6 MAY 23 1966

REC-7

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

65 JUN 10 1966  
Special Agent in Charge

Handwritten signature: *W. T. Hansen*

Let to start  
 1-CIA  
 REP: PAA  
 5/12/66  
 Let to start  
 1-CIA  
 REP: PAA  
 5/12/66

REC-7  
 P/46  
 [Handwritten signature]  
 [Handwritten signature]

al

CG 134-46 Sub B

To further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memoranda have been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D. C.

According to CG 5824-S\*, GRACE GARDOS had come to Prague, Czechoslovakia, from Budapest, Hungary, specifically for the purpose of discussions relative to a possible trip to the U.S., and this meeting occurred in 3/66. Subsequently, the source met with ZOLTAN KOMOCSIN, member of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, who was then in Moscow as a fraternal delegate to the 23rd Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

May 17, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

GRACE GARDOS, UNITED STATES CITIZEN,  
RESIDING BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in May, 1966, advised as follows:

A number of years ago, Grace Gardos, a United States citizen, went to Hungary with her husband who had voluntarily accepted deportation back to his homeland. Gardos would now like to return to the United States for a year or two and then go back to rejoin her husband in Budapest, Hungary, where they have been residing. The Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) is agreeable to Gardos returning to the United States from Budapest for the period indicated and if she does come back, they will utilize her services during the period of her stay. Recently, Gardos has been acting as the Hungarian correspondent for "The Worker," an East Coast communist publication.

While she would like to come to the United States, because she still has relatives there, one being Fred Blair, the leading functionary of the CP of Wisconsin, there is still some hesitation on the part of Gardos. She feels that some guarantees are necessary from the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (HSWP) that if she is allowed to go to the United States, she will be able to reenter Hungary at a later date. In Budapest, the Gardoses are living comfortably and Emil Gardos, husband of Grace Gardos, is presently receiving a good pension. In addition, Grace Gardos' son lives next door to them in Budapest. Because of these things, she does not want to jeopardize her present status.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~Group 1  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5564

1

GRACE GARDOS, UNITED STATES CITIZEN,  
RESIDING BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

~~TOP SECRET~~

In April, 1966, the matter relating to the trip of Grace Gardos to the United States was discussed with Zoltan Komocsin, a member of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, HSWP. During the discussion, Komocsin promised that the HSWP would assist Grace Gardos in making the desired trip to the United States and such departure from Hungary would not affect her present status or prevent her from re-joining her husband at a later date.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

May 17, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

CONFIDENTIAL MAILING ADDRESS FOR  
BRAZILIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in April, 1966, advised as follows:

In April, 1966, the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) was furnished with the following address by the Brazilian Communist Party for use in connection with the mailing of confidential communications to Brazil:

Mr. Salomao Chwartaid  
Organizacao Industrial Fides  
Av. Brigadeiro L. Antonio, 993-5<sup>o</sup>  
Sao Paulo, Brazil

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~Group 1~~

~~excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

100-428091-5564

ENCLOSURE

3



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

May 17, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF VENEZUELA

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in April, 1966, advised as follows:

During the course of the XXIII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) held in Moscow, USSR, March 29 through April 8, 1966, representatives of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) fraternal delegation to this Congress met with Jesus Faria, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Venezuela (CPV) and turned over to him an invitation to attend the 18th National Convention of the CP, USA scheduled for June, 1966, in New York City, New York. Faria had just been released from prison in Venezuela and had voluntarily left the country. He was in Moscow as the leading fraternal delegate of his Party to the XXIII Congress, CPSU.

During the course of the meeting with Faria, it was learned that both of the Machado brothers, Gustavo and Eduardo, were still confined to prison in Venezuela. Both of these individuals were leading members of the CPV and had been at one time elected members of the Venezuelan Parliament. Gustavo Machado is reportedly very ill. Eduardo Machado, who is married to the sister of Helen Winter, a CP, USA functionary, is in better health.

According to Faria, Eduardo's wife Gertrude is one of the best smugglers of literature in the area. Whenever she visits her husband in prison, she comes loaded with literature hidden in her corset and brassiere. It was further noted that one of Eduardo Machado's sons continues to be active and is still fighting with the guerrillas in Venezuela.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~Group 1~~

~~excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~



EX-104

REC-3

RA

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/17/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

*Handwritten notes:*  
45  
John [unclear]  
[unclear]

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Harry and Gertrude Yaris, Warsaw, Poland." ~~Mrs. M...~~

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was orally furnished on 4/25, 26, and 28/66 by CG 5824-S\* to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum has been classified ~~TOP SECRET~~ since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement thus adversely affecting the national security.

To further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C.

- 1-904 9th St. [unclear]
- 3-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

RWH:MDW  
(5)

*Handwritten:* 1 card destroyed 6/2/66

REC-7

100-427091-5565  
REC-3  
card

MAY 23 1966

*Handwritten:* ce

*Vertical handwritten note:* Review and possibly disseminate see NY [unclear] 5/10/66 100-357577-92

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

65 JUN 10 1966 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

CG 134-46 Sub B

In connection with the information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum, the source advised that the meeting with ZENON KLISZKO, member of the Political Bureau and a Secretary of the Central Committee, Polish United Workers Party, had been held in Moscow, USSR, when KLISZKO was attending the 23rd Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union, held 3/29-4/8/66, as a fraternal delegate. Subsequently, the source advised that he had also met with HARRY YARIS who traveled to Prague, Czechoslovakia, from Warsaw, Poland, specifically for the purpose of discussing the instant matter with the source.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

May 17, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~TOP SECRET~~

HARRY AND GERTRUDE YARIS,  
WARSAW, POLAND

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in April, 1966, advised as follows:

Recently, Harry Yaris, a former American who now resides in Warsaw, Poland, where he acts as the correspondent for "The Worker," an East Coast communist publication, reportedly indicated a desire to return to the United States with his wife Gertrude, a United States citizen.

The information regarding the possible return of Harry Yaris and his wife Gertrude was discussed by a leading representative of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), and it was agreed that the Party should make efforts to assist Yaris in returning to this country. It was also decided that if Yaris should return to the United States, the Party would seek to utilize his services.

During the latter part of March, 1966, a representative of the CP, USA discussed the possible return of Yaris and his wife to the United States with Zenon Kliszko, a member of the Political Bureau and a Secretary of the Central Committee, Polish United Workers Party (PUWP). At the time of the discussion, Kliszko stated he was of the opinion that if the decision for the Yarises' return to the United States was one of the CP, USA, his Party would have no objections, particularly if the services of Yaris would be utilized by the Party in the United States. However, he requested a memorandum be prepared on the Yaris matter and sent to the Central Committee of the PUWP.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~Group 1  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5565

HARRY AND GERTRUDE YARIS,  
WARSAW, POLAND

~~TOP SECRET~~

Subsequently, in April, 1966, Harry Yaris, who resides at AL Wyzwolenia 12-M.9, Warsaw, Poland, remarked during discussions that presently he is not too anxious to return to the United States. While he does desire to come back to the United States, he is a sick man and is worried about where he would get the financial assistance in the United States to cover his necessary medical expenses. In this regard, it is to be noted that Yaris reportedly has a heart problem. While Yaris noted that he does have a son in the United States, he did not believe that this son would or could bear the responsibility for his needed medical expenses. He then noted that under any condition his wife Gertrude would attempt to travel to the United States for a visit.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/18/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

ReCGairtel dated 11/22/65 and enclosed letterhead memorandum captioned, "Contemplated Establishment of a New Department in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for International Relations Among All Communist Parties."

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum captioned, "Continued Activity Directed Toward Creation of a New Department in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for International Relations Among All Communist Parties."

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was orally furnished by CG 5824-S\* on 4/26/66 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum has been classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement thus adversely affecting the national security.

- 1-904 94D with incl.
- 3-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

RWH:MDW  
(5)

REC 5

ST-109

6 MAY 23 1966

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

65 JUN 7 1966

*Precausly disseminated 11/25/65 - ATTACHED  
ADDS NOTHING NEW AT THIS TIME, 18 NOT  
BEING DISSEMINATED.*

*Handwritten initials/signature*

*Handwritten initials 'all'*

*Handwritten file number 100-428091-5566*

*Handwritten signature*

CG 134-46 Sub B

To further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C.

The information concerning the matter referred to in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was secured from TIMUR TIMOFEEV, Assistant Director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow, during a meeting with that individual in 4/66 in Moscow.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

May 18, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~TOP SECRET~~

CONTINUED ACTIVITY DIRECTED TOWARD CREATION OF A  
NEW DEPARTMENT IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET  
UNION FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AMONG ALL COMMUNIST  
PARTIES

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in April, 1966, advised as follows:

In November, 1965, it was reported that the Presidium of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), had made a decision to set up a new organization within the CPSU. This organization was to be an organizational part of the CPSU and its purpose would be to maintain close ties with every Communist and Workers' Party throughout the world. The new organization or department would handle the important task of trying to hold Parties together and improve Party-to-Party relations, not just the CPSU to other Party relations but relations of all Parties to one another. The practical results of the work of this organization would be that all Parties could get together and discuss Party and international problems. It was stated that such an organization could lay the basis for a future international organization and could be an embryo that could eventually become a Comintern. As of that time, Timur Timofeev, Assistant Director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow, USSR, was the leading candidate for the post as head of this new department of the CPSU.

As of April, 1966, a leading representative of the CPSU remarked that the CPSU was continuing to build the above-noted new inner-Party department; however, he was not at that time at liberty to discuss details. This same individual also noted that this new department will have an apparatus and an organization that could almost act as a Comintern.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

~~TOP SECRET~~  
Group 1

100-428091-55280  
~~excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: 5/18/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

*Handwritten notes and signatures:*  
CS  
Shaw (last)  
Branigan

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies each and for the New York Office one copy each of the following captioned letterhead memoranda:

- 1) "Timur Timofeev, Assistant Director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow, USSR"
- 2) "Efforts by Unidentified Negro Doctor, New York City, New York, to Contact Henry Winston, Vice Chairman, Communist Party, USA, in Moscow, USSR, April, 1966"
- 3) "Progressive Party of Working People of Cyprus (AKEL)"

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memoranda was furnished by CG 5824-S\* during the period 4/25-29/66 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed letterhead memoranda have been classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" and "~~TOP SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement thus adversely affecting the national security.

3-Bureau (Enc. 12) (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 3) (Info) (RM)

1-Chicago  
RWH:MDW (5)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

APR 3 1966  
FNO

*Handwritten notes:*  
Let to SGT  
1-904  
NJM: PAB  
5/21/66

*Handwritten initials:*  
AL

MAY 20 1966

*Handwritten initials and stamps:*  
MAY 20 1966



CG 134-46 Sub B

To further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memoranda have been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C.

The information set forth in the letterhead memorandum relating to telephone calls made by an unidentified Negro doctor from NYC to HENRY WINSTON in Moscow was furnished by ART SHIELDS, "The Worker" correspondent in Moscow. In this same connection, the information that leaders of the CPSU had received cables from this same individual was received from IGOR MIKHAILOV, Assistant to the Head of the North and South American Section, International Department, Central Committee, CPSU, in 4/66.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

May 18, 1966

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TIMUR TIMOFEEV, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF THE  
INSTITUTE OF WORLD ECONOMY AND INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS, USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, MOSCOW,  
USSR.

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in April, 1966, advised as follows:

Timur Timofeev, Assistant Director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow, USSR, during the past few months has participated in extensive travels abroad during which time he has attended and participated in meetings and affairs of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). In this regard, he has attended UNESCO functions in both London, England, and Copenhagen, Denmark. In the latter city Timofeev had the opportunity to be personally introduced to the King of Denmark.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5567



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

May 18, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

EFFORTS BY UNIDENTIFIED NEGRO DOCTOR, NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK, TO CONTACT HENRY WINSTON, VICE CHAIRMAN, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, IN MOSCOW, USSR, APRIL, 1966

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in April, 1966, advised as follows:

While Henry Winston, a Vice Chairman, Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), was in the Soviet Union to attend the XXIII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) held March 29 through April 8, 1966, as a fraternal delegate from the CP, USA, an unidentified Negro doctor from New York City, New York, was making, on a daily basis, telephone calls from New York City to Moscow, USSR, which were directed to Winston. This doctor did not succeed in speaking to Winston while the latter was in Moscow, and because of this threatened to continue to make such calls until Winston would talk to him or return his calls to New York City.

This same unidentified Negro doctor, according to representatives of the CPSU, had sent cables to Leonid I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CPSU, and to Alexei Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and a member of the Political Bureau, CPSU. In these cables to the leaders of the CPSU this unidentified Negro doctor requested personal loans from the USSR, Israel, and Egypt which he stated would be used in behalf and for the betterment of the Negro people in the U.S. According to these representatives, it was obvious that this Negro doctor was "crazy."

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~Group 1~~  
~~excluded from automatic~~  
~~downgrading and~~  
~~declassification~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

May 18, 1966

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF WORKING PEOPLE OF  
CYPRUS (AKEL)

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in April, 1966, advised as follows:

During the course of the XXIII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) held in Moscow, USSR, March 29 through April 8, 1966, a brief meeting was held between the fraternal delegations from the Progressive Party of Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) and the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA). Ezekial Papaioannu, General Secretary, AKEL, was at this time presented with an invitation for his Party to send a fraternal delegation and/or greeting to the forthcoming 18th National Convention of the CP, USA scheduled to be held in New York City, New York, June, 1966. When presented this invitation, Papaioannu informed the CP, USA fraternal delegation that he was "rather angry" with the U.S. communists. He pointed out that his Party had recently held their Congress and not even as much as a greeting was received from the CP, USA to acknowledge this event.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

# ROUTE IN ~~PLAINTEXT~~ CODE

Date: 5/19/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies each and for the New York Office one copy each of the following captioned letterhead memoranda:

- 1) "Remarks of Communist Party of the Soviet Union Leaders Regarding Continuation of Cultural Exchanges Between Soviet Union and United States"
- 2) "Delegation of Pathet Lao at XXIII Congress, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Moscow, USSR, March 29 Through April 8, 1966"
- 3) "Boris N. Ponomarev, Secretary and Head of International Department, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union"

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memoranda was orally furnished by CG 5824-S\* during the period 4/25-28/66 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed letterhead memoranda have been classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement thus adversely affecting the national security.

3-Bureau (Enc. 12) (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 3) (Info) (RM)  
1-Chicago  
RWH:MDW

REC-24/100-428091-5568  
6 MAY 23 1966

*Let's start  
1-CIA  
NJM:PA 6/31/66  
1-CIA  
1-Verde, AA6  
1-Verde, AA6  
NJM:PA 5/13/66*

*How lost  
Boris P  
CFL  
P...  
W...  
ak*

(5)

Approved: [Signature] Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

69 JUN 7 1966

CG 134-46 Sub B

To further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memoranda have been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

May 19, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

REMARKS OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION LEADERS  
REGARDING CONTINUATION OF CULTURAL EXCHANGES BETWEEN  
SOVIET UNION AND UNITED STATES

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in April, 1966, advised as follows:

In April, 1966, several leading members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), namely Mikhail A. Suslov, a member of the Political Bureau and a Secretary of the Central Committee, and Boris N. Ponomarev, a Secretary of the Central Committee and Head of the International Department, Central Committee, approached the fraternal delegation of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) to the XXIII Congress of the CPSU for the purpose of requesting advice and opinions which might have some bearing on future relations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Specifically, these individuals noted that at the XXIII Congress of the CPSU, the CPSU had created an atmosphere where they had mobilized the world against the United States and the United States participation in the war in Vietnam. As a result of this, it was now becoming difficult for the Soviet Union to deal with the United States without having some countries and some CPs misunderstand the Soviet Union's action. They pointed out that already the CPSU and the Soviet Government had been under heavy and constant attack from the Communist Party of China (CPC) who claimed that the Soviet Union had sold out the international movement and was collaborating with the United States.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~Group 1  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5568

REMARKS OF CPSU LEADERS REGARDING  
CONTINUATION OF CULTURAL EXCHANGES  
BETWEEN SOVIET UNION AND UNITED  
STATES

---

~~TOP SECRET~~

They then noted that the Soviet Government was prepared to cancel out the presently existing cultural agreements with the United States and was seriously considering the outright cancelation of the then current Bolshoi Ballet tour in the United States.

However, they noted that before they took any final action in this regard, they wanted the opinions of leading CP representatives on this matter. Particularly, they were interested in how public opinion in the United States and some of the other countries would react to continued cooperation on cultural matters with the United States. Reportedly, the entire CP, USA fraternal delegation to the XXIII Congress was unanimous in the opinion that the Soviet Union should not cancel out the Bolshoi Ballet tour in the United States. They stated that their position was that the Soviet Government should continue cultural relations and exchanges with the United States Government. They pointed out that the Soviet Government could justify such relations by simply saying that the existing differences were not between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States but were differences which existed between the Soviet Union and the United States Governments over policies of the United States. These policies are made by a few individuals in the United States and not the masses. They also added that action by the Soviet Government in continuing such cultural relationships would not be misunderstood in any way by the American people.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

May 19, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

DELEGATION OF PATHET LAO AT XXIII CONGRESS,  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, MOSCOW,  
USSR, MARCH 29 THROUGH APRIL 8, 1966

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in April, 1966, furnished the following information:

At the XXIII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) held in Moscow, USSR, March 29 through April 8, 1966, several fraternal delegations in attendance were never publicly identified in any way or form. Such delegations while at the Congress were not seated in the area normally assigned in the Palace of Congresses where other fraternal delegations were seated but instead were secreted in out-of-the-way places like on balconies, etc. By such seating arrangements, these delegations were neither accessible nor visible to the press or to any foreigner. In order to arrange contact with such a delegation while they were at the Congress, it was necessary to set this up with the security forces of the CPSU. Away from the Congress itself, these same delegations were provided with heavy security. They did not stay at the official CPSU hotels or apartments but were billeted in secluded areas. If a meeting was desired with such delegations, it was necessary to arrange this through the CPSU and they were conducted under maximum security conditions.

One such delegation which attended the XXIII Congress was that representing the Pathlet Lao from Laos. In connection with this delegation, the CPSU was extremely

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~Group 1  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5568

DELEGATION OF PATHET LAO AT XXIII .  
CONGRESS, CPSU, MOSCOW, USSR,  
MARCH 29 THROUGH APRIL 8, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

cautious because if it became known to the Communist Party of China (CPC) that the Pathet Lao was represented, the wrath of the CPC would have been laid upon them, the Pathet Lao. In the past, the Pathet Lao had always been considered to be extremely pro-Chinese and under the strong influence of the CPC.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

May 19, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

BORIS N. PONOMAREV, SECRETARY AND HEAD OF  
INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT, CENTRAL COMMITTEE,  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, during April, 1966, advised as follows:

Although Boris N. Ponomarev was elected to the position as a Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) at the XXIII Congress of the CPSU, it was a bitter disappointment to him that he was not given a seat on the Political Bureau, Central Committee, CPSU. However, it must also be noted that while Ponomarev was not elected to the Political Bureau, his present standing among the top leadership of the CPSU is very high. He received a "feather in his hat" for the outstanding organizational work he had done as head of the International Department, Central Committee, CPSU, when he succeeded in mobilizing 97% of all the Communist and Workers' Parties behind the CPSU's position in regard to Vietnam and in having such Parties reject the line of the Communist Party of China.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

Group 1  
~~excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-427691-5568

RA

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/19/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

*[Handwritten signature]*

SOLO  
IS-C

On 4/29/66 CG 5824-S\* advised that during the course of the 20th Solo Mission and in conjunction with meetings he had held with various Party representatives in Moscow, USSR, he had provided several of these Parties with addresses to be utilized for communication with the CP, USA. The addresses the source provided were mail drop boxes maintained under the control of the Chicago Office for CG 5824-S\*. Specifically, the source provided the Brazilian CP and the CP of Portugal with the following address:

*al*

Milton Adams  
Box 4367  
New Post Office  
Chicago, Illinois 60680

In addition, he provided the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam with the following address:

Norma Hansel  
Box 7363  
New Post Office  
Chicago, Illinois 60680

REC-24 100-428091-5569

1-904 9KD  
③-Bureau (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637)(Info)(RM)  
1-Chicago

6 MAY 20 1966

RWH:MDW  
(5)

*[Handwritten signature]*

Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

65 APR 31 1966 Special Agent in Charge

REC-3  
104

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/19/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

*Shaw (cont)*  
*Ruehl*  
*Bell*  
*Brannigan*

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are three copies each and for the New York Office one copy each of three informant's statements captioned as follows:

- 1) "Information Regarding Possible Second Joint Communist Party, USA - Communist Party of Canada Marxist-Leninist Training School"
- 2) "John and Ann Burlak"
- 3) "Contact with Vladimir Makarov (Phonetic), Representative of Leninist Young Communist League, April, 1966"

*Russia*

*F. M. ...*  
*M. J. ...*

*al*

The information appearing in the enclosed informant's statements was orally furnished by CG 5824-S\* during the period 4/26-28/66 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

1-904 91-  
③-Bureau (Enc. 9) (RM) **REC-24** 100-428091-5570  
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 3) (Info) (RM)  
1-Chicago

RWH:MDW  
(5)

REC-3  
cards

6 - MAY 23 1966

Approved: *FNO MDW*  
65 JUN 16 1966  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

INFORMATION REGARDING POSSIBLE SECOND JOINT  
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - COMMUNIST PARTY OF  
CANADA MARXIST-LENINIST TRAINING SCHOOL

During discussions held in Moscow, USSR, during April, 1966, WILLIAM KASHTAN, General Secretary, Communist Party (CP) of Canada, raised the matter concerning the possibility of the CP of Canada and the CP, USA again cooperating to hold a Marxist-Leninist training school. KASHTAN raised this as he intended to make a request of the CP of the Soviet Union for funds to operate such a school if the CP, USA was agreeable. He also noted that the CP of the Soviet Union would not subsidize such a school solely for the training of Canadians and, therefore, unless the CP, USA agreed, such a matter would not be raised with the Russians.

At the time, KASHTAN was informed that the matter would be discussed and that he would be supplied with an answer in the immediate future.

Subsequently, the matter was discussed with HYMAN LUMER, Editor of "Political Affairs," and Educational Director, CP, USA, who was also in Moscow at the time. LUMER was of the opinion the CP, USA should go ahead and support the official request of the Canadian Party regarding the school and agree with them that such a school was worthwhile and should be repeated. LUMER also noted that he would have no objection to letting the Canadians at this point work out the details of the school, including finances, with the Russians.

In later contact with KASHTAN, he was told to go ahead and submit his recommendation regarding the school to the Russians. He was also at this time given permission to state in his document supporting the request for this school that the recommendation was being made with the complete concurrence of the CP, USA. He was also authorized to submit, if he desired, the document in the joint names of the Secretariats of the CP of Canada and the CP, USA.

Later, KASHTAN advised that he had presented the proposition regarding the holding of another joint Marxist-Leninist School to the CP of the Soviet Union and that the Russians had agreed in principle to it. He noted that it appears that they will now make available approximately \$25,000 to \$30,000 to operate such a school. KASHTAN also agreed at this time that if it were not possible to hold this school, the two Parties would split the funds provided by the CP of the Soviet Union down the middle.

- ENCLOSURE  
100-428091-5570

JOHN AND ANN BURLAK

On April 6, 1966, ESTHER SHIELDS, wife of ART SHIELDS, the Moscow correspondent for "The Worker," advised that JOHN and ANN BURLAK, former members of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) now residing in Odessa, Ukrainian SSR, had attempted to contact HENRY WINSTON who was then in Moscow, USSR, attending the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). The BURLAKs indicated that the reason they were attempting to contact WINSTON was to extend greetings to him and invite him to visit them at Odessa.

CONTACT WITH VLADIMIR MAKAROV (PHONETIC),  
REPRESENTATIVE OF LENINIST YOUNG COMMUNIST  
LEAGUE, APRIL, 1966

Following the meeting of Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) representatives with Leninist Young Communist League (LYCL) officials in Moscow, USSR, April 12, 1966, these CP, USA representatives were subsequently contacted by a young male, about 22 years of age, named VLADIMIR MAKAROV (phonetic), who is employed at Komsomol Headquarters, Moscow. This individual had come for the purpose of formally advising the CP, USA representatives that the LYCL was now officially inviting two youths from the United States to attend the XV Congress of the LYCL instead of the one which had been noted in a written invitation previously given them. When MAKAROV was asked if this new invitation covered fares for both of these youths from New York City, New York, he remarked, "If a secretary of Komsomol promised to pay the fares, they will pay them."

MAKAROV also advised at this time that he was available for further contact if necessary to discuss LYCL matters or youth problems and that he could be contacted at Komsomol Headquarters, telephone number 21-46-34.

Later, it was learned that MAKAROV, during the course of the XXIII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), had worked with the Communist Party of Canada fraternal delegation to the Congress. He had served as one of the translators and acted as an assistant for WILLIAM KASHTAN, General Secretary, CP of Canada.



**ST-108 ROUTE IN ENVELOPE**

FBI

Date: 5/19/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub-B)

SOLO  
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "J. Peters and Wife, Budapest, Hungary."

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was orally furnished by CG 5824-S\* on 4/26 and 28/66 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum has been classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information contained therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement thus adversely affecting the national security.

To further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C.

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum regarding the PETERSES was received during a meeting which had been held with GRACE GARDOS in Prague, Czechoslovakia, 3/66.

- 1-904 9LD with Encl
- 3-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

RWH:MDW  
(5)

REC-28

100-428091-5571

6 MAY 22 1966

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

65 JUN 10 1966



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

May 19, 1966

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

J. PETERS AND WIFE, BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, during April, 1966, advised as follows:

As of March, 1966, J. Peters, who during the 1930's acted as the representative of the Communist International to the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) and later active in the CP, USA and then subsequently returned to Hungary, continued to work for the Hungarian Government in Budapest, Hungary. As of the present time Peters is reportedly very ill and has suffered a severe coronary. While his specific address in Budapest is unknown, his home telephone number is 466-462 and his office telephone number is 314-916. It was also learned at this time that within the past few months J. Peters' wife, who also works for the Hungarian Government, had made a trip to the United States and was supposed to have participated in a conference dealing with the topic of radio broadcasting. Her travel to the United States at this time was undertaken on travel documents which she allegedly had received from the United States Government.

*U.S. - Hungary - [Signature]*  
*with [Signature]*  
*the [Signature]*  
9/18/66  
[Signature]

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

100-428091-55  
ENCLOSURE

Legat, Ottawa (105-684)

5/17/66

Director, FBI (100-428091)

1 - Wannall  
1 - Mastrovich

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA  
INTERNAL SECURITY - CANADA

*0*  
*Solo*

There are enclosed three copies of a letterhead memorandum classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" and captioned "Communist Party of Canada," which pertains to the securing of boats and arms from Canada by the Party of People's Alliance of Haiti.

Promptly furnish a copy of the enclosed memorandum to your source in the [redacted] It should be emphasized that due to the very delicate nature of our source it is essential that no distribution or use of our intelligence information be undertaken which would be likely to jeopardize the security of our source.

Enclosures (3)

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

NJM:pah  
(6)

NOTE:

We have been supplying on a regular basis data concerning the Communist Party of Canada furnished by our top informants. Data in attached memorandum was extracted from CGairtel 5/10/66 captioned "Solo, IS - C." Due to the sensitive nature of this source, Legat has been instructed to emphasize that no action be undertaken by [redacted] which would likely jeopardize our sources. This information was previously furnished to U. S. Department of State, Central Intelligence Agency and the Defense Intelligence Agency.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Wick \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED-6  
MAY 17 1966  
COMM-FBI

MAILED 7  
MAY 20 1966  
COMM-FBI

REC-82 100-428091-5572

*SECRET*  
*WJF*

19 MAY 17 1966

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

~~TOP SECRET~~

May 17, 1966

- 1 - Wannall
- 1 - Mastrovich

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA

A source which has furnished reliable information in the past recently made available the following information:

William Kashtan, General Secretary, Communist Party of Canada, while attending the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, met with an individual from Haiti, who was believed to be active in the Party of People's Alliance of Haiti. This Haitian is of the Negroid race, a cripple, over six feet in height, and uses the name "Stanley." It is not known whether this is his true name or merely an alias.

This Haitian reportedly told Kashtan that "they" were interested in purchasing boats and arms, including machine guns, for Haiti if such material could be located in Canada. The Haitian reportedly told Kashtan that while such material could be obtained from Cuba, "they" preferred to obtain the material from other sources if possible.

It was further determined that this Haitian's contact in Canada is Stanley Byerson of Toronto, Canada, a functionary of the Communist Party of Canada.

100-428091

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit

ORIGINAL & 2 TO LEGAT, OTTAWA, BY LETTER 5/17/66.

NOTE: Classified "~~Top Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this data could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to this country. Information extracted from CGairtel 5/10/66 captioned "Solo, IS - C." See cover letter to Ottawa, same caption, dated 5/17/66, prepared by NJM:pah.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Wick \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

NJM:pah  
(7)

*pah*

~~TOP SECRET~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5592

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

~~SECRET~~

(IS) 100-428091

BY LIAISON

1 - Liaison  
1 - RCPutnam

Date: May 18, 1966  
To: Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State  
From: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Subject: COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRAZIL

*Solo*

*5-19-66  
delivered  
AST/2*

A source which has supplied reliable information in the past has advised that in March, 1966, a representative of the Communist Party of Brazil made a request of the Communist Party, USA, for legal aid. Specifically, this request was for the Communist Party, USA, to attempt to locate an attorney in the United States willing to travel to Brazil to participate in the legal defense of Luis Carlos Prestes, General Secretary, and other leaders of the Communist Party of Brazil who are soon to be tried in absentia by the Government of Brazil.

The source stated that if the Communist Party, USA, can locate an attorney willing to participate in this action, the attorney should contact Doctor Sival Palmeiras, Ave. Rio Branco No 106, 15<sup>o</sup>, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

- 1 - Director BY LIAISON  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Attention: Deputy Director, Plans
- 1 - Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

REC-22  
100-428091-5573  
3 MAY 20 1966  
*W/UP*

b6  
b7c

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Wick \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RCP:dmk:pah  
(7)

MAILED 12  
CC only  
MAY 19 1966  
COMM-FBI

~~SECRET~~  
GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

55 MAY 26 1966  
TYPE UNIT

*D*

~~SECRET~~

Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State

NOTE:

Classified "~~Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in grave damage to the Nation. GC 5824-S\* obtained request while on Solo Mission 20 to the Soviet Union and other communist countries from 3/18/66 to 4/25/66. Data extracted from Chicago airtel 5/10/66 captioned "Solo IS - C." The address set out above is prepared as addresses are written in Brazil. The 15<sup>o</sup> means the 15th floor.

~~SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

(IS) 100-428091

BY LIAISON

Date: May 12, 1966 *OSolo*

To: Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: COMMUNIST PARTY OF URUGUAY

1 - Wannall  
1 - Liaison  
1 - Mastrovich

*5-13-66  
delivered  
C.H.S.*

A source which has furnished reliable information in the past has made available the following information concerning the domestic situation in Uruguay and the status of the Communist Party of Uruguay.

In April, 1966, the fraternal delegations of the Communist Party, USA, and the Communist Party of Uruguay to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held March 29 through April 8, 1966, in Moscow, Russia, met. At this meeting Henry Winston, Vice Chairman, Communist Party, USA, praised the Communist Party of Uruguay and invited it to send a delegate to the 18th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA, scheduled to be held in New York City during late June, 1966.

*Al*

REC-18 100-428091-5574  
6 MAY 24 1966

Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary, Communist Party of Uruguay, acted as spokesman for his Party and thanked Winston for this invitation. Arismendi stated it is difficult for representatives of his Party to travel to the United States since visas are not even given by the United States to Uruguayan businessmen who are suspected of holding "popular leanings." Arismendi stated that an attempt would be made to send a delegate to the Communist Party, USA, Convention. He stated that his Party plans to hold a Congress late in June, 1966, and invited the Communist Party, USA, to send one delegate. The essence of Arismendi's additional comments regarding conditions in Uruguay was as follows:

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Wick \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

NJM:pah  
(7) *pah*  
*FWO*

~~TOP SECRET~~

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

(SEE NOTE PAGE 6)

*W.H.F.*  
*W.B.B.*

APR 26 1966 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

~~TOP SECRET~~

Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State

The main characteristic of the past ten years has been the growing mass movement in Uruguay. The Communist Party of Uruguay organized the entire working class and succeeded in unifying it through a process of struggles. Ten years ago the working-class movement was split into a number of parts. One third of it was led by the Communist Party of Uruguay, another third was under the leadership of autonomous trade unions with some political trends, and the remainder was led by anticommunist trade-union elements. The Communist Party of Uruguay has destroyed the influence of the American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations group. Now, the only influence left of the American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations is their "school" which is conducted in the United States Embassy in Montevideo, Uruguay, and where they prepare their "agents."

The Communist Party of Uruguay first worked in all of the autonomous unions and then organized the Center of the Workers of Uruguay. This is a trade-union organization which has influence in intellectual and middle-class organizations. The Communist Party of Uruguay has also participated in the organization of an assembly which is now maintained on a permanent basis. Trade-union groups such as the Federation of Students, Union of Teachers, white collar workers, government employees, medical workers and cooperative federations participate in this assembly. These trade-union groups are organized into the great Popular Congress. They have an advanced program which seeks to become organized with the working class and then work for an alliance of trade unions with other classes. Their aim is to extend this organization into the rural areas and in this connection they already have some peasant cooperatives involved. In this Popular Congress there are 450 organizations with a zone of influence among approximately 700,000 out of a total population of more than two million in Uruguay.

All of this has been done by the Communist Party of Uruguay through the process of struggle. These struggles have taken the form of strikes, occupation of factories, demonstrations and marches against the Government. All of these struggles have not been merely for economic demands but have also been for the political demands of the people.

~~TOP SECRET~~



~~TOP SECRET~~

Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State

In the last decade some 33 general strikes have been called. Two of these were general strikes in sympathy with Cuba. There was also a general strike against a possible coup d'etat. There were also strikes against the International Monetary Fund and sympathy strikes in support of other workers in trouble.

The Communist Party of Uruguay has had some great battles in the defense of democratic liberties in Uruguay. In June, 1964, after the coup d'etat in Brazil, a similar attempt was made in Uruguay. The workers and the people at this time called a general strike involving some 500,000 individuals to "defend democracy." After three months of struggle, the Communist Party of Uruguay stopped the reactionaries and made them retreat. During this period bank and government employees demanded pay increases. They organized demonstrations and also undertook stoppages while at work for an hour or two. To counter this, the Government suspended constitutional liberties and arrested hundreds of people. The radio and press were suppressed and efforts were made to break the unions. Workers answered this government action with a general strike. First, there was a general strike for 24 hours. This was then followed by a 72-hour strike of bank employees and a strike of dock workers and oil workers, plus illegal demonstrations. The Government suppressed the Communist Party of Uruguay press; however, journalists and printers answered by shutting down the bourgeois press. All of this was a broad movement and the Government could not crush it.

Finally, the Government had to negotiate and give concessions. First, the Government released prisoners and then allowed the trade-union press to operate. However, the Government was seeking also to win time by negotiating and then commenced to hit back. The Government delayed conclusions and stalled. The Communist Party of Uruguay "opened up" on the Government with strikes and demonstrations. This forced the Government to restore constitutional guarantees. Subsequently, the Government ordered the arrest of 3,000 trade-union leaders and raided their homes. The Communist Party of Uruguay then

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State

called a general strike of 72 hours which included a strike of the bourgeois press. This was a real mass strike. The Government could not follow through on the arrests it had planned. This general strike was then followed by sit-ins of workers and clerks who occupied factories and banks. Railroad workers, though on strike, did transport the working people but refused to transport police and troops.

To retaliate, the Government resorted to provocations charging that the Soviet Embassy in Uruguay was directing this strike. At the time of this strike the Government was divided, with one part calling for conciliation and the other for repression and a coup d'etat. Those seeking conciliation looked for solutions and favored negotiations because repression had not brought results. As a result of negotiations undertaken in this regard, the Government agreed to raise wages, release prisoners and to reinstate those fired. The Government again guaranteed democratic liberties. This was the manner in which the general strike was brought to an end. The Minister of Interior and Chief of Police were dismissed, as were others who had used repression.

At the present time a large number of the trade unions have become firmly united and will soon present a draft seeking to strengthen the constitution of Uruguay and secure other reforms of the constitution. There will be provisions in this for the broadening of civil liberties and also provisions to give control of foreign policy back to Parliament and provide for certain nationalization and agrarian reforms, as well as placing worker representation in some institutions. A plebiscite on the proposed strengthening and reforms of the constitution will require the signatures of some 200,000 voters. The trade unions are taking an active part in the electoral life of Uruguay with this type of a program.

In the struggles in Uruguay, the role of the Communist Party of Uruguay, as well as the role of the communist youth, has been recognized. The Communist Party of Uruguay during the past ten years has increased its membership five-fold. Seventy-eight per cent of Communist Party of Uruguay

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State

members are industrial or transport workers. In the Montevideo, Uruguay, transportation system along some 800 communists are employed. The Communist Party of Uruguay youth organization has been very militant and has also grown.

The Communist Party of Uruguay publishes magazine sections in its paper devoted to trade-union activities. The Communist Party of Uruguay also publishes separately a magazine, a youth magazine, and many factory papers. The Communist Party of Uruguay uses the radio every day to present the news and political comments.

In Uruguay there is also presently a left front of liberation, the Front Izquierdista de Liberacion, which includes the Communist Party of Uruguay and others. This is the nucleus of liberation. They have a newspaper called "Front." This movement also utilizes radio.

An analysis of political prospects in Uruguay appears to indicate an acceleration of struggles among the masses. The Communist Party of Uruguay has had some weaknesses in the past. Communist Party of Uruguay work in rural areas has been limited and it has been determined that the large masses have been slow in development and that they lack class consciousness. Also, despite increased membership, the Communist Party of Uruguay was too small to lead the large number of masses at this stage of the struggle. A mass Communist Party of Uruguay for the masses is needed, along with cadres, if the Communist Party of Uruguay is to organize and grow ideologically. Almost all trade-union leaders in Uruguay are communists. This Communist Party of Uruguay "force" must be increased if the Communist Party of Uruguay is to consolidate. The Communist Party of Uruguay must increase its role in the trade-union movement as well as in Parliament, but in conjunction with the interests of the masses. Parliamentary achievements are based on the pressure of the masses.

Regarding the armed forces, most of the officers are are of the middle class. Despite the "work" of the United States and of the fascists in Uruguay's Army, the majority of these officers are democratic. A portion of the

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~~TOP SECRET~~

Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State

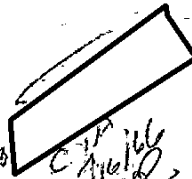
officers of Uruguay's Army was against the coup mentioned previously. The Communist Party of Uruguay cultivates and makes appeals to these officers and to Uruguay's Army in general. The Communist Party of Uruguay urges unity with the people and appeals to anti-imperialist sentiments.

Approximately one third of the national economy of Uruguay is owned by the Government. This includes petroleum, television, alcohol, Port of Montevideo, a part of the refrigeration industry, railroads, and municipal transport in the Capital City, Montevideo. In addition, some of the main fishing factories, sugar plantations, grape plantations, and banks are owned by the Government.

Because of the sensitive nature of the source which made this information available, this communication is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~."

1 - Director BY LIAISON  
Central Intelligence Agency

Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

  
To CIA  
S. H. H. H.  
CP

b6  
b7c

NOTE:

Classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. Source obtained this information during a meeting attended by representatives of the CPUSA and the CP of Uruguay while they were attending the 23rd Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union in Moscow, 3/29 - 4/8/66. Arismendi was spokesman for his group. Data extracted from CGairtel 5/6/66, captioned "Solo, IS - C."

~~TOP SECRET~~

**ROUTE IN ENVELOPE**  
Date: 5/17/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)  
SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

*elton*  
*S-S [unclear] (cont)*  
*Bliss*  
*A. F. [unclear]*

ReNYairtel, 2/8/66, reflecting that ROBERT SCHEER, Foreign Editor of "Ramparts" Magazine, was to go to North Vietnam on a peace mission.

On 5/16/66, NY 694-S\* advised that on that date, GUS HALL stated that he had received information that the North Vietnamese had refused to permit ROBERT SCHEER to enter North Vietnam. HALL furnished no further details regarding this matter.

The above information is being transmitted to the San Francisco Office by separate communication.

*a*

*101-904 980*

- 3 - BUREAU (100-428091) (RM) REC-18
- 1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B) (AM-RM)
- 1 - NY (134-91) (INV) (41)
- 1 - NY (100-134637) (41)

*100-428091-5575*

6 MAY 24 1966

ACB:rvs  
(7)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

65 APR 26 1966 Special Agent in Charge

~~TOP SECRET~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

AA  
ST

(19) 100-420001

BY LIAISON

0306

Date: May 19, 1966

- 1 - Branigan
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mastrovich

To: Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

del INR, State  
5-20-66  
Wm-fun

Subject: COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

The following information furnished by a source which has furnished reliable information in the past is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest.

In April, 1966, the fraternal delegation of the Communist Party, USA, engaged in discussions with representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) during the 23rd Congress of the CPSU held March 29 through April 6, 1966, in Moscow, Russia.

During these discussions the representatives of the CPSU made it known that the present membership of the Leninist Young Communist League is approximately 23 million. These Soviet representatives also made it known that at the present time 93 per cent of the individuals holding either full or candidate membership in the CPSU had previously been members of the Leninist Young Communist League.

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These Soviet representatives further stated that, hereafter, a policy is to be established that in order to gain full or candidate membership in the CPSU it will be necessary, except in rare instances, that the individual involved be a previous member of the Leninist Young Communist League.

REC 18 100-428041-5576

Because of the sensitive nature of the source which made this information available, this communication is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~".

MAY 24 1966

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- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Wick \_\_\_\_\_
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- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

1 - Director  
BY LIAISON  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

NJM:pah  
(7) pah  
K140

~~TOP SECRET~~

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

(SEE NOTE PAGE 2)

b6  
b7c

65 APR 26 1966 TELETYPE UNIT

JTB

~~TOP SECRET~~

Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State

NOTE:

Classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since data reported could reasonably result in the identification of the source (CG 5824-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. Information extracted from CGairtel 5/11/66 captioned "Solo, IS - C," which discloses that CG 5824-S\* obtained this information while attending the 23rd Congress of the CPSU held 3/29-4/8/66 in Moscow.

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/20/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

reCGairtel dated 5/3/66 and enclosed LHM captioned "Remarks of Leading Representatives of National Liberation Front of South Vietnam Concerning the United States and the Situation in Vietnam."

On 5/19/66 CG 5824-S\* provided SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN with several items which he had received from the National Liberation Front (NLF) through a mail drop maintained in the name of Mr. John Shoulders, Modern Book Store, 6624 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois 60626. The source stated that he had also given the above address to the NLF of South Vietnam representatives during discussions held in Moscow, USSR, 4/66, and that this address was in addition to the two drop addresses which he had previously furnished and referred to in reCGairtel.

The material received in the "John Shoulders drop" was as follows:

- 1) A paperback book, unnumbered pages, consisting of several hundred pages, entitled "South Vietnam on The Road to Victory," published by the Liberation Publishing House, South Vietnam, 10/65.

3-Bureau (Enc. 5) (RM)  
1-Chicago

RWH:MDW

(4)

ENCLOSURE  
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REC-18  
MAY 24 1966

65 JUN 10 1966

KIS 5/27/66

6-7-66

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

ROUTING (INITIALS)  
Special Agent in Charge

ERROR LETTER SENT

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Card

Shoulders (cont)  
M. J. [Signature]

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CG 134-46 Sub B

- 2) A 84-page paperback entitled, "The Way He Lived, The Story of Nguyen Van Troi," published by the Liberation Publishing House, South Vietnam, 10/65
- 3) The 3/3/66, No. 48; 3/17/66, No. 50; and, 3/31/66, No. 52 issues of the "Vietnam Courier, Weekly Information" published in Hanoi, DRV.

The above material is being enclosed herewith for the Bureau's information and review. This material was not copied by the Chicago Office because of its extensive nature and because it is possible that the Bureau may have previously come into possession of similar items. The source advised he does not possess additional copies of this material and it is possible the CP, USA may make a request of him for it. Therefore, the Bureau is requested, if it has no interest in this material or when further use for it does not exist, that it be returned to the Chicago Office in order that it might be made available to the source.

In connection with item #1 referred to above, the publication "South Vietnam on The Road to Victory," one page in this publication has been marked with a paper clip. On this page appears a photograph concerning which the following is set forth:

"At a reception given on June 15, 1965, by the Permanent Mission of the South Vietnam N.F.L. in Moscow, B. N. Ponomarev, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., and Dang Quang Minh, Head of the Permanent Mission of the South Vietnam N.F.L., proposed a toast in honour of the friendship between the South Vietnamese and Soviet peoples."

DANG QUANG MINH is the person referred to on page 5, paragraph 3, line 3, of the reLHM as Comrade Minh with whom CG 5824-S\* had met. The source previously had been unable to furnish this individual's full name.

The Bureau may desire to note this information on its copies of reLHM.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/17/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)  
SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

*Handwritten notes:*  
5- [Signature] (cont)  
[Signature]  
[Signature]

On 5/16/66 there was received at a Solo drop in Chicago a communication from WILLIAM KASHTAN, General Secretary of the Communist Party (CP) of Canada, addressed to CG 5824-S\*. This letter was in response to a letter from CG 5824-S\* to KASHTAN dated 5/10/66. Set forth below is the text of KASHTAN's letter:

"Was just on the way to write re someone coming to our shindig when your welcome note arrived. Am glad to hear of your intentions which we will try to reciprocate in a month from now. Look forward to Herb's item. It may be a better way of handling things, and at the shindig itself adopting a statement. Will look into the wmr item you mention.

all the best,  
as ever,  
B."

*Handwritten:* a

CG 5824-S\* interpreted the above letter as follows:

- 1-904940
- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-134637) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

REC-38

100-428091-5578

EX-108

WAB/mes  
(5)

6 MAY 25 1966

Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

65 APR 26 1966

CG 134-46 Sub B

KASHTAN was just about to write to the CP, USA to invite a delegation to attend the CP of Canada's 19th National Convention in Toronto, Canada, 5/21-24/66, when he received CG 5824-S\*'s note advising that the CP, USA intends to send two delegates to that convention. The CP of Canada will try to send a couple of representatives to the 18th National Convention of the CP, USA in New York City, 6/22-26/66.

KASHTAN also stated he would be looking forward to seeing an article by GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA, which CG 5824-S\* had advised him would appear in the May, 1966 issue of "Political Affairs," the theoretical journal of the CP, USA. CG 5824-S\* had stated that the article might serve as the basis of the main resolution at the CP, USA Convention and which might not be introduced until the convention itself. In his note, KASHTAN agreed with this procedure.

KASHTAN promised to look into a request by CG 5824-S\* that Progress Books, Toronto, Canada, not delay distribution of the "World Marxist Review," official theoretical organ of the international communist movement, since HALL's article on the CP, USA program would be in the May, 1966 issue and the CP, USA desired that it be circulated before the convention.

The New York Office was advised of the contents of this note by telephone on 5/17/66 in order that NY 694-S\* can pass this information on to GUS HALL. At the same time, HALL is to be advised that CG 5824-S\* sent to KASHTAN on 5/16/66 a copy of the uncorrected galley proof of HALL's article in the as yet unreleased May, 1966 issue of "Political Affairs."

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 11-24-2012

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

May 19, 1966

BY LIAISON

Honorable Dean Rusk  
The Secretary of State  
Washington, D. C.

- 1 - DeLoach
- 1 - Sullivan
- 1 - Baumgardner
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - RCPutnam

b6  
b7c

Dear Mr. Rusk:

Recently, a source which has supplied reliable information in the past advised that the Soviet Government had received a communication from the Soviet Ambassador to the United States, Anatoly F. Dobrynin, recounting details of a conversation he allegedly had with you. Dobrynin reportedly said you had indicated that the United States Government was aware of the fact that the Soviets were financing the activities of the Communist Party, USA, and also was aware of the means by which this money was delivered to the Communist Party, USA.

MAY 19 11 27 AM '66

I am deeply concerned that this information may represent an effort on the part of the Soviets to trap our valuable sources who are aware of this sensitive operation. It would be appreciated if you could advise if you have held any discussions with Ambassador Dobrynin in which the Communist Party, USA, was mentioned and whether these discussions included the financial relationship between the Communist Party, USA, and the Soviet Union.

Because of the sensitive nature of the source which furnished the above information, this communication is classified "~~Top Secret~~."

Sincerely yours,

REC-38  
100-428091

5579

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Wick \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
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- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

LRCP 008ah  
(7)

~~TOP SECRET~~  
Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

(SEE NOTE PAGE 2)

85 APR 26 1966

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

~~TOP SECRET~~

Honorable Dean Rusk

NOTE:

Memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan 5/16/66 captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist," which is attached, reported a conversation between a Soviet official and CG 5824-S\* regarding the reported conference between Rusk and Dobrynin during which Rusk is supposed to have disclosed our knowledge of the financial relationship between the CPUSA and the Soviets. We do not know if this conference between Rusk and Dobrynin actually took place or if it could be a tactical maneuver on the part of the Soviets. The memorandum recommended that the Director or Assistant Director Sullivan contact Rusk to determine if he had made such disclosures to the Soviet Ambassador. The Director noted that the matter should be handled by letter. Classified "~~Top Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S\*) and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation.

~~TOP SECRET~~

*JSH*

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Felt	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gale	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Sullivan	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tavel	<input type="checkbox"/>
Trotter	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Holmes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: May 16, 1966

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

- 1 - DeLoach
- 1 - Sullivan
- 1 - D. J. Brennan
- 1 - Baumgardner
- 1 - R. C. Putnam

*wes*

*[Handwritten signature]*

SUBJECT: SOLO

INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

### PURPOSE:

To recommend that in order to protect our Solo operation the Director consider making a telephone call to Secretary of State Dean Rusk to determine if he held discussions with Soviet Ambassador to the United States Anatoly F. Dobrynin in which he disclosed that the United States Government was aware how the Soviets financed the Communist Party, USA. If this action is deemed undesirable, it is recommended that Assistant Director Sullivan personally contact Secretary Rusk for this purpose.

### BACKGROUND:

We have in the past furnished the Secretary of State a "~~Top Secret~~" document which set forth the fact that the Soviets were financing the Communist Party, USA, and indicated how transfer of funds took place.

On his return from Solo Mission 20 to the Soviet Union on 4/25/66 CG 5824-S\* advised he had a discussion in Moscow with a representative of the Security Branch of the International Department, Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This individual, known to source only as Vladimir, is in charge of the clandestine communications apparatus between the Soviet Union and the Communist Party, USA. Vladimir reiterated Soviet demands that the Communist Party, USA, establish a legitimate business in a Western European country to facilitate transfer of funds from the Soviets to the American Party. Initial discussions on this matter were held in 10/65 between the same two individuals. However, the Communist Party, USA, has taken no action to set up this business concern. During this discussion, to stress the urgency of early establishment of some "legal" means of transferring funds, Vladimir related the following:

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union received a message from Anatoly F. Dobrynin, Soviet Ambassador to the United States, recounting details of a discussion between the

*Let to State (Kend)*  
*RCP:pah*  
*5/19/66*

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*100-428091-55*

RCP:pah  
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*pah*

CONTINUED--OVER

EX-108

6 MAY 125 1966

*[Handwritten signature]*

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
Re: SOLO  
100-428091

Soviet Ambassador and Secretary of State Dean Rusk. According to Dobrynin, Rusk made an unofficial protest that the Soviets were violating terms of the 1933 Recognition Treaty which declared that neither country would interfere in the internal affairs of the other. In essence, Rusk is reported to have said that the United States Government knows the Soviets are in close contact with the Communist Party, USA, on an almost daily basis, that it is aware of the close relationship existing, that the Government knows the Soviets are financing the work of the Communist Party, USA, that it knows how this money is coming into the United States, and how the Soviets deliver the money.

Vladimir asked "What is going on?" Source replied that public officials in the United States feel free to make such statements without basis in fact as part of the violently anticommunist anti-Soviet campaign in the United States.

OBSERVATION:

We do not know when the reported conversation between Rusk and Dobrynin took place or even if it actually occurred. It could conceivably be a tactic of the Soviets to pressure the Communist Party, USA, to develop new channels to transfer funds. If Rusk did make this disclosure to Dobrynin, he has jeopardized the lives of our Solo informants. Information supplied by these informants cannot be taken lightly or handled indiscriminately without regard for security no matter how much Rusk would like to publicize the FBI's success in the security field and to embarrass the Soviets.

RECOMMENDATION:

(1) That, for the protection of our highly placed Solo informants, the Director consider making a telephone call to Secretary of State Rusk for the purpose of determining if he made any disclosures to Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin concerning the financial relationship between the Communist Party, USA, and the Soviet Union.

*Handle by letter  
5117*

(2) If the above action is deemed undesirable, it is recommended that Assistant Director Sullivan arrange to contact Secretary of State Rusk personally and discuss this matter with him.

*W* *WA* *WCS*

*no*  
*L no*  
*D*

*As*